FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-246
Tuesday
22 December 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-246 *22 December 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: A: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Foreign Ministers Meet UN Head on Bosnia *[MTI]* 1
Polish Minister Cites Meeting *[PAP]* 1
Polish Minister Proposes New Measures for CSCE *[PAP]* 1

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Visegrad Group States Sign Free Trade Agreement *[Budapest Radio]* 2
Hungary's Kadar Details Agreement *[MTI]* 2
Poland's Suchocka Hails Pact *[Warsaw TV]* 2

ALBANIA

Italy's Scalfaro Speaks at Parliament *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Greets Deputies at Assembly *[ATA]* 3
Thanks Pelican Operation Staff *[ATA]* 4
Holds Conference on Mutual Relations *[ATA]* 4
Berisha Calls for Observers at Kosovo Border *[ATA]* 5
Government Signs Memorandum on Border Control *[ATA]* 5
European Council Commission Holds Economic Seminar *[ATA]* 6
Trade Sector Heads Growth in Private Sector *[ATA]* 6
Deputies Discuss Adoption Bill *[ATA]* 6

BULGARIA

Foreign Ministry Demands Explanation From Turkey *[BTA]* 7
New Restrictions on CIS Tourists Outlined *[BTA]* 7
Trade Surplus With Balkan States Increasing *[BTA]* 7
DPS-SDS Talks on Forming Cabinet Break Down *[Sofia Radio]* 7
DPS Details Issues *[Sofia Radio]* 8
DPS Rejects SDS Candidate *[Sofia Radio]* 8
DPS Explains Rejection *[BTA]* 8
DPS Proposes 'Government of Experts' *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Smaller Parties Reject SDS Candidate *[BTA]* 10
BSP Leaders Discuss Fallout of Boyadzhiev Affair *[BTA]* 10
Leadership Wins Confidence Vote *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Two Smaller Parties To Form New Liberal Party *[Sofia Radio]* 11
New Party for Gypsies Established *[BTA]* 11
'Christian Agrarian Party' Established *[BTA]* 11
New Turkish Party Seen Helping DPS Image *[KONTINENT 14 Dec]* 11
Civic Initiative Movement Elects New Chairman *[Sofia Radio]* 12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Strasky Views Bugging, Citizenship, Other Issues *[TELEGRAF 17 Dec]* 13
Commentary Speculates on People Behind Bugging *[TELEGRAF 16 Dec]* 13
Knazko Knew of Meciar-Chernomyrdin Secret Meeting *[CTK]* 14
Klaus, Austria's Mock Discuss Bilateral Relations *[Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG 17 Dec]* 14
Czech Cabinet Approves Agreement Succession *[CTK]* 15
Parliament Fails To Approve Radio, TV Bills *[CTK]* 15
Czech Deputies Reject Assembly Transfer *[Prague Radio]* 15

Parliament Approves Use of Federation's Reserves *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 17 Dec]* 16
Slovak Officials Rebuke Czechs on CSFR Flag *[CTK]* 16
Meciar Interviewed on Various Issues *[Bratislava TV]* 17
Slovaks Apply for Czech Citizenship *[SMENA 16 Dec]* 18
Cabinet Discusses 'Alarming' Judiciary Situation *[NARODNA OBRODA 16 Dec]* 19
Possible Slovak Presidential Candidates Examined *[RESPEKT 14-20 Dec]* 19
Czech Government Proposes 1993 Budget *[CTK]* 20
Slovak Parliament Approves 1993 Budget *[Prague Radio]* 21
Discussion on Formation of Slovak Army *[Bratislava TV]* 21

HUNGARY

Antall on President-Elect Clinton's Future Policy *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Antall Discusses Foreign Policy Issues *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Agriculture Ministry Welcomes Free Trade Pact *[Budapest Radio]* 23
Ministry Says 40,000 Yugoslav Refugees in Country *[MTI]* 23
President Asked To Promulgate Budget Law *[MTI]* 23
Prime Minister's Office Rejects IPI Statement *[MTI]* 23
IPI Counters Government Claims *[MTI]* 23
Probe Into Charges Against TV Chief Halted *[MTI]* 24

POLAND

Agreement With Slovenia, Croatia To Abolish Visas *[PAP]* 25
Suchocka Greets Visegrad Group Free Trade Pact *[PAP]* 25
Strike Group Urges Single Negotiating Body *[Warsaw TV]* 25
German Minority Deputy Talks to Press *[TRYBUNA OPOLSKA 12-13 Dec]* 26
Senator on Danger of Neo-Nazi 'Infiltration' *[TRYBUNA OPOLSKA 10 Dec]* 28
KPN Wants Government Members To Face State Tribunal *[PAP]* 28
PSL Says Poland in 'New Stage of Social Crisis' *[PAP]* 29
Suchochka Views 1993 Budget, Other Issues *[TRYBUNA SLASKA 15 Dec]* 29
November Fall in Industrial Output Reported *[PAP]* 30

ROMANIA

Melescanu Views Ties With U.S., Moscow *[TINERETUL LIBER 16 Dec]* 31
Parliament Commemorates Revolution Anniversary *[Bucharest Radio]* 32
Iliescu's Address *[Bucharest Radio]* 32
RMP Holds News Conference on Policy Issues *[ROMPRES]* 37
Iliescu, Officials Attend Award Ceremony *[ROMPRES]* 38

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Owen's Sarajevo Peace Mission Reviewed *[AFP]* 39
Akmadzic Optimistic After Owen Visit *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Agreement on Civilian Evacuation of Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 40
British Parliamentarians Visit Serb Republic *[TANJUG]* 40
Serb Minister Urges Izetbegovic To Attend Talks *[TANJUG]* 40
New Serb Republic Premier Outlines Priorities *[TANJUG]* 41
Tuzla Protests to Vance, Owen Over Massacres *[NOVI VJESNIK 4 Dec]* 41
Purge in Bosnia-Hercegovina Army Viewed *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 7 Dec]* 42
Croats Unwilling To Give Up Herceg-Bosnia *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
'Jihad Warriors' Said Preparing for Sabotage *[Belgrade Radio]* 43
Muslims Launch 'Unprecedented Offensive' Near Foca *[Belgrade Radio]* 43
Gains Reported by Muslims in Posavina Corridor *[Zagreb Radio]* 43

CROATIA

Hungary Interested in Trade With Croatia *[NOVI VJESNIK 4 Dec]* 44
Croatian Christian Democratic Union To Be Founded *[NOVI VJESNIK 4 Dec]* 44
Leader of Croatia's Serbs on Exiles *[NOVI VJESNIK 26 Nov]* 45

SLOVENIA

Christian Democrats Decline Coalition Membership *[Ljubljana Radio]* 46
Croatian Envoy on Slovene-Croatian Relations *[DELO 2 Dec]* 46

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Cosic Discusses Milosevic, Bosnian Conflict *[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 16 Dec]* 47
UN Sanctions Viewed as 'Rigorous,' 'Reprisal' *[POLITIKA 4 Dec]* 49
Territorial 'Ambitions' of FRY Neighbors *[VOJSKA 3 Dec]* 51
Foreign Exchange, Interest Rates Increasing *[BORBA 3 Dec]* 54

Serbia

Belgrade Television Declares Milosevic Winner 55
Panic Supporters Allege Electoral Fraud 55
Spokesman Claims 'Cheating' *[TANJUG]* 55
Aide Demands New Elections *[TANJUG]* 55
Socialists Reject Claims of Irregularity *[Belgrade Radio]* 56
Commission Fails To Supply Preliminary Results *[TANJUG]* 56
Ministry Explains Rules on Electoral Rolls *[Belgrade TV]* 56

Macedonia

Government Agrees to UN Force Deployment *[TANJUG]* 56
Draskovic Promises Rights to Bulgarian Minority *[DEMOKRATSIYA 12 Dec]* 57

Montenegro

Documents Allegedly Prove Leadership's 'Treason' *[POLITIKA 8 Dec]* 57

Kosovo

Milosevic Wins Pristina With 87 Percent of Vote *[TANJUG]* 59

Foreign Ministers Meet UN Head on Bosnia

LD2212065692 Budapest MTI in English 0623 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] New York, December 21 [date as received] (MTI)—Although UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali shares the anxiety of the foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative (CEI) states over the Yugoslav crisis, the UN is unlikely to take further steps, and especially not military steps. The Security Council lacks a majority for such actions. This was the main outcome of the one-hour consultation UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali had with Foreign Ministers Alois Mock of Austria, Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary, Krzysztof Skubiszewski of Poland, and Milan Kucan of Slovenia today.

The delegation arrived in New York on behalf of the CEI to press for a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

As Jeszenszky and Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman told Hungarian journalists, Butrus-Ghali agreed with the CEI that the international community should make further efforts even if these had yielded so far only partial results. "If we cannot extinguish the fire, we should at least prevent its spread to other areas such as Vojvodina," Jeszenszky said. In the meeting, the foreign minister pressed for reopening of the Adria oil pipeline.

Both the Hungarian and the Austrian foreign ministers said they agreed that the ban imposed on Serbian Air Force flights should be enforced. However, the countries with peacekeeping forces in the crisis-ridden areas are cautious about any armed action.

The ministers meet President George Bush on Tuesday.

Polish Minister Cites Meeting

AU2212112192 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] New York, Dec. 21—Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who arrived in New York on Sunday together with foreign ministers of Hungary Geza Jeszenszky and Austria Alois Mock, met with United Nations Secretary General Butrus-Ghali on Monday to discuss problems of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

The ministers represent the three countries that are left from the organization of five states known as the "Pentagonale" (Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia) and are to discuss further steps of the international community to solve the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

"We had a very lively discussion with the secretary general concerning dangers which will result from the situation in Bosnia as well as the situation in Kosovo and Macedonia," said Minister Skubiszewski. "The question arises whether the UN should take further steps (in regards to Bosnia), and if so, in what manner. I feel that there is no room for the extensive use of force. No one wants it anyway," he added.

Questioned as to why Poland abstained from voting on the recent UN General Assembly resolution regarding Bosnia and calling for the embargo on the supply of arms to that nation to be lifted, Skubiszewski replied that "Poland perceives the danger of lifting the embargo."

"There is a fear that lifting the embargo would increase the scope of military activity," he said.

Skubiszewski stressed that Poland has supported independence in Bosnia and Hercegovina on the international forum consistently from the very beginning, and that arms are still being supplied despite the embargo.

Polish Minister Proposes New Measures for CSCE

AU1512125492 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 14 Dec 92

[Text] Stockholm, Dec. 14—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski suggested here Monday a number of measures designed to improve the efficiency of the CSCE in conflict-prevention and solving. He addressed the third meeting of the CSCE Council on the first day of its session as one of four main speakers, next to the foreign ministers of the United States, Britain, and Russia.

Skubiszewski began by noting that the general conclusion with regard to the past year was that the network of European and transatlantic institutions, the CSCE included, had proved inefficient to prevent and resolve conflicts, eliminate security risks and equip those involved in the European transformations with tools adequate to the tasks.

To avert the crisis, Skubiszewski postulated that the role of the CSCE as a negotiating structure should be maintained and reinforced. Second, the CSCE should use the instruments of conflict prevention and conflict resolution more often, more energetically and with more resolve.

To make more efficient use of its powers, the CSCE needed more operative structures which would allow for a rapid and efficient decision-making process. The office of secretary general of the CSCE should be established, said Skubiszewski.

To help find funds to finance the CSCE operations, the Polish foreign minister suggested that peace-keeping missions be financed from the defense budgets of the participating states. The present budgetary problems could be overcome if the CSCE member states were ready to earmark a half percent of their annual military expenditures for peace-keeping operations.

Skubiszewski also suggested creating a foundation for promoting human rights in the CSCE. The relevant states, organizations and private persons could thus contribute to the activities of the office for democratic institutions and human rights based in Warsaw.

Visegrad Group States Sign Free Trade Agreement

LD2112141492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] The special ministers of the Visegrad Group have signed a free trade agreement in Krakow. It means that Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia have created the same conditions for one another as these countries created with the EC individually. According to the agreement, customs, fees, and restrictions regarding quantity will be dismantled in eight years. At the same time every member state can protect its new industrial branches until 2001, and following preliminary consultations it can take independent steps if the country concerned is in a social crisis, in the event of a change of structure or insolvency. The agreement comes into effect on 1 March if it is ratified by the parliaments of the member states.

Hungary's Kadar Details Agreement

LD2112182392 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, December 21 (MTI)—Signing a free trade agreement in Krakow today, the Visegrad Three, comprising Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary, made the first step on their common road towards European integration, the removal of barriers to cooperation, increasing trade, and creating conditions for economic growth, Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar told the press in Krakow on Monday. Interest in the agreement was also expressed by Slovenia, Croatia, and Turkey.

"The agreement is a useful message to Europe and the world. It indicates that the East European peoples can shape their own fate and settle their own problems. It shows that there are forces of stability in the region and that economic cooperation can ease inherited tensions," the minister said.

"Under the agreement, next year 45 to 60 per cent of industrial goods and 20 to 25 per cent of farm products will be traded freely. This will become a major driving force for both foreign trade and small entrepreneurs. The agreement sets these countries free from the confinement of being small nations since a market of 65 million people is much more attractive for foreign investors," Kadar said.

The agreement was signed by the Hungarian, the Polish, the Czech, and the Slovak ministers, in the presence of Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka.

Under the agreement, customs duties and quotas will be lifted in three stages, from March 1, 1993 to 2001, under the pattern of the association agreements concluded with the European Community. At the initiative of the Czech side, the ministers made a separate declaration of intent on accelerating the removal of trade barriers. In a move to shorten the process from eight to five years, the sides will launch new talks without delay.

The Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture confirmed today that the free trade agreement would be particularly good for Hungarian agriculture.

Poland's Suchocka Hails Pact

LD2112192592 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] After the signing at Wawel Castle today of an agreement on the creation of a free trade zone between Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, Premier Hanna Suchocka said that this, the first multilateral accord in Central Europe in the period of the market economy, is a great achievement that is being closely watched by the European Community states.

[Reporter] In the Senatorial Hall of the Royal Castle at Wawel, an agreement on free trade has been signed between the states of the Visegrad Four: Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Poland. The agreement, which had been in preparation for a year, was signed by Ministers Vladimir Dlouhy, Bela Kadar, Ludovit Cernak, and also Andrzej Arendarski.

[Begin Hanna Suchocka recording] This has come about despite the change of government in Poland, and despite the disappearance in the future of the Czechoslovak Federation. This signifies what great weight this agreement has. Differences of opinion and view that have arisen in the course of the signing of this agreement are something normal in the process of signing this sort of agreement, and show that this is indeed a matter of exceptional importance. [end recording]

[Reporter] From 1 March next year, duties on raw materials and semi-finished products will be abolished, and they will be progressively reduced for remaining industrial products from 1995 onwards. On so-called troublesome products, which include textiles and metallurgical and automotive products, duties will dissapear by the year 2001.

The agreement on the free trade zone also relates to agricultural and food products. Nonetheless, the markets for these products will be the ones that open up most slowly. The final barriers among the states of the Visegrad Group will disappear by the year 2001.

Italy's Scalfaro Speaks at Parliament

AU1812210092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Our reporter states that in his speech at parliament, the Italian president stressed that he is amazed by the great steps being made in Albania during the past year and 10 months. This is wonderful proof of the country's capacity for recovery and of the noble thirst here for freedom and democracy.

Allow me not as a president, but as a free man to say thank you for the courage you have for revival, he said. He later said that Italy's work in Albania is not assistance, but a sign of solidarity or participation in the revival that the Albanian people are accomplishing with dignity today. Italy has been and will be a friend of Albania. In Albania I saw the pedestals of toppled statues. I have seen the busts of fascism toppled in my country. No one, however, has dared touch Scanderbeg's monument in Rome.

Concerning Kosovo, Scalfaro said that Italy thinks that Kosovo should have wide and full autonomy. The Italian Government commits itself to energetically ask international authorities to prevent undesirable events in the region. He described Albania as an important factor for stability in the Balkans.

Greets Deputies at Assembly

AU1912162492 Tirana ATA in English 0933 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 19 (ATA)—During his visit to Albania, President Scalfaro visited the Albanian parliament accompanied by the Albanian President Sali Berisha and the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Mr. Arbnori.

On the occasion of this visit Mr. Arbnori said, among other things: "The name of the honoured President of the Italian Republic Scalfaro is added today to the names of the senior political personalities who have come to greet our pluralistic democratic parliament. As our neighbour, Italy has shown concern in order that Albania has freedom and democracy. As a NATO member Italy wants that stability prevails, that all the rights and freedoms adopted in Helsinki be observed in Albania and beyond its borders. As a member of the European Community, Italy supports the successful reform in Albania and the flourishing of the market economy. It is high time for concrete agreements in finance, industry, agriculture, tourism, science, technique, and culture. The economic and technical level of Italy is high, but the capability and zeal at work of the Albanians is also known when work is normally paid. Bearing in mind our great natural assets, the Albanian-Italian relations have a brilliant perspective in all fields.

"The visit of President Scalfaro in Albania is a testimony proving that we have taken the right road."

Then, Mr. Scalfaro spoke. He said:

"I am member of the Italian parliament for 27 years. The Foreign Minister Colombo, who is also present here, and me are among those few people in Italy who being present in the Constituent Assembly, which signed the Constitution of the Italian Republic, are still in service of democracy and the republic. Therefore I feel a special emotion while addressing thanks and greetings to each of you. I am bowing especially before the parliamentarian institution because it is the highest expression of freedom, democracy, and for this reason it is also such for the human rights, which in our constitution, in the 2d article are named inviolable human rights. I have also declared in the parliament, whose member I have the honour to be, that I not only have faith in the parliament, but I boundlessly love the parliament. The parliament maintains the prestige of the homeland, defends the fundamental rights, defends democracy and freedom. It is not by chance that the dictatorship exerts oppression first of all on the parliament because the dictatorship is afraid of the free man who thinks freely and voices freely his opinions, always respecting the others' opinions. We are taught that one can live for freedom and can die for freedom but first for the freedom of others and then for his own freedom.

"I said to your president of the republic that we, Italians, and certainly I that am speaking to you today, have been astonished by the great leaps you have made for nearly two years. It is as a miracle of the strength to be renovated, of the instinctive capability to be free, of the capability for work, of your bravery to affirm justice, freedom, and democracy. Since the human dimension is the richest, the greatest, the most truthful, the most sensitive relation connecting peoples among themselves, allow me that not so much as president of the Italian Republic, but as a man addressing to you as free people, to thank you as a free man who has seen and admires the courage and bravery to be renovated.

"Italy stands on your side. It has helped and is helping you within its possibilities so that you make progress to renovate democracy, labour, economy, to transform the imposed dictatorial state and the blocked economy into a market economy. These processes ask for will and sacrifices.

"Italy is your friend, it wants to be such and it feels an honour to be your friend. This friendship is being expressed through bilateral support, through international institutions, and especially through world financial institutions. Here amongst you is also the Pelican Operation contingent, who have created fraternal relations with you. This is a result of the important relations existing between our peoples. This was also manifested by your president. Important are the trade relations, those of labour, of investments, but nothing bears comparison with the so deep roots of the friendly cultural relations. When two peoples expand the acquaintance of respective cultures, of respective history, science, art, then relations are everlasting.

"Allow me to repeat something I told your president privately: Some page of the history of my country may make somewhat difficult the resumption of relations, but such a thing has not influenced at all. This is your merit, it is a merit of the human relations between our two peoples. I have seen monuments toppled in our country when the fascist dictatorship was over. Coming here by car from the president's office, I saw some monuments, or better their basements where it would have been better to be written Justifiable Absence. I also want to tell you that the monument of Scanderbeg in Rome has been never damaged by anyone.

"Italy does not want to have an essential activity. It is a sign of solidarity and solidarity envisages equal conditions. It is even a sign of the participation with a single aim that you be a people with high dignity, so that you have the possibility to be self-reliant in the efforts to revive everything. To this end, we are in favour of the treaty of friendship, which our foreign ministers are preparing. I would also like to say that this treaty adds nothing to the existing values, it will be an historic page which takes into consideration these relations and it may be an encouragement even for those who will follow us, because these relations will continue to exist. This treaty will be a reference point for our relations.

"What is its aim? First of all I would like to underline the full support for the complete economic and democratic animation of the Albanian people. We consider Albania as an essential point of stability in the Balkan zone, which is so tense and in a state of bloody conflicts, precisely now on the verge of [year] 2000. Nobody could imagine that so many years of civilization would be burnt surprisingly because of a problem: coexistence among different ethnic groupings. The great evils of our time are the desire for unrefrained richness which gives birth to international criminality, the criminality we are witnessing, and of the one we do not see, but which exists. The other evil, the will to be above others at any cost gives birth to dictatorships, from this desire emerges violence, the tragedy of Bosnia-Hercegovina, because those who command Serbia want to impose through inhuman methods their power there where they are not right. To this end, the Italian Government thinks and acts so that the zone of Kosovo be a zone, a region with a great real autonomy and to respect a true figure, that 90 percent of the population is Albanian. For this reason, we are thinking and acting by all means until the questions which have to do with Macedonia and Greece reach a point, which would be acceptable in the human plane and avoid the coming damages. For this reason the Italian Government is making all efforts so that the world undertake a powerful preventive act not to be late when everything is over and when any kind of influence will be in vain. We should say that Europe, and the European Community, which has made many efforts, has met with a failure, because when a war starts, the human values are lost.

"I am now coming to a close wishing that this friendship between the Italian and Albanian Governments and peoples be a condition and example of peace. The man has the right to live in peace, this is his natural right."

The greeting of the Italian President was warmly welcomed by the Albanian parliamentarians.

Thanks Pelican Operation Staff

AU1912162792 Tirana ATA in English 0943 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 19 (ATA)—During his visit to Albania, the Italian President Scalfaro visited the military effectives of Pelican Operation in Durres. In this visit he was accompanied by the Albanian President Sali Berisha and the ministers of defence of both countries.

Wishing welcome to them, General Carlo Caci, commander of the Pelican Operation, considered the visit by the Italian and Albanian presidents as a special privilege.

In his greeting, the Italian Minister of Defence Salvo Ando pointed to the importance of the peace mission the Pelican military men are carrying out in Albania. He said: Italy is proud of this human mission carried out by its sons. He said: All the political and diplomatic mechanisms should be put to motion in order to preserve peace and security. In this context our engagement in carrying out the tasks has been intensive. He fully assured President Berisha and Scalfaro that Pelican Operation will faithfully carry out its logistic mission in Albania.

Then the president of the Italian Republic greeted them. He thanked all of them for everything they have been doing and wished them a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. What you have been doing here in Albania is more than a gesture of friendship and humanism. This is fraternity with Albania and the Albanian people, the Italian president said.

Then they were greeted by the Albanian President Berisha. He said: Helping my people and country at the most difficult moment, Pelican's sons have laid an additional stone to the foundations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries. This friendship and cooperation will be strengthening with each passing day.

Following this courteous meeting at the base of Pelican Operation, Presidents Berisha and Scalfaro left for Durres city.

Holds Conference on Mutual Relations

AU1912162892 Tirana ATA in English 0952 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 19 (ATA)—After the meeting with the mayor of the city of Durres, where Mr. Scalfaro was declared a citizen of honour of Durres, the Albanian President Berisha and the Italian President Scalfaro had a joint press conference.

Taking the floor, Mr. Sali Berisha said that the short but intensive visit of Mr. Scalfaro in Albania marks a new stage in the relations between the two countries, which are going towards a close cooperation.

I thank Mr. Scalfaro for this visit in the new Albania also for the fact that this visit took place before Christmas. We had full understanding in our talks. Italy has helped a great deal Albania and this aid is important both for the triumph of democracy and the development of Albania.

The Italian aid is a support for the economic reform and is of special importance for us. This is an aid of the Italian Government, the Italian people, and the President Scalfaro. Mr. Berisha thanked the Italian president also for the aid the Pelican Operation has and is being giving. He underlined that of special importance were the agreements signed by the foreign ministers Serreqi and Colombo, especially that for the crisis in the region and the cooperation between our two countries to prevent the extension of the conflict in the south.

Mr. Scalfaro thanks for the warm reception extended by President Berisha in the airport, by Mr. Pjeter Arbnori in the parliament, for the honour made by naming after Italia a very nice square in Tirana, and for the reception in the Municipality of the city of Durres, with a civilization of 2,000 years, where he was given the title Citizen of Honour. The Italian president said that the relations between the two countries are very good and friendly. The activity of the Pelican Operation is a vivid and real expression of this friendship. The aid of Italy towards Albania does not have the colour of assistance, it is an expression of the solidarity and fraternity. He said that we talked of the situation in the Balkans, which is tense and that Albania is faced with two problems, that of Kosovo, a region where 90 percent of the population is Albanian, where the Serbs pretend that through the force of arms and prepotence to make the minority prevail, as well as the question of Macedonia. I think that such problems can not be solved only by one party.

At the end, President Scalfaro responded the questions of those present. In the end of the visit, Mr. Ilir Zhilla, director of ATA, presented President Scalfaro with an album with pictures from the one-day visit to Albania by the journalistic service of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, who worked side by side the ANSA colleagues and Italian mass media. President Scalfaro expressed cordial thanks and gratitude and readiness of the working people of the Albanian press.

Berisha Calls for Observers at Kosovo Border

AU2212104792 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 22 (ATA)—On December 21 the British delegation paid a visit to the presidency. At this meeting President Sali Berisha said: "I would like to express my pleasure over the achievements and changes that Maastricht treaty achieved over these 16 months and the success of Edinburgh. The fact that European reason prevails over the national one in the European Community is very significant not only to your developed countries, but I would say they were vital to our Eastern countries as well, which after following for 50 years a wrong road, started a new road in many directions, having as the main objective the integration of our country to Europe. Considering our difficulties we think that the more united Europe the open it is to us.

I am pleased you are here together with the EC observers group at the head of a mission, which is intended to contribute to the stability in the region. This act of mutual cooperation and understanding expresses our firm determination to take all action to contribute to peace and stability in the region. I assure you that I'll ask the government to take all action, which guarantee and facillitate their activity in fulfilling their mission.

On this occasion I would express my request to send these observers on the other part of the border, that is in the border of Kosovo with Albania, which is full of arms and dangers.

Then President Berisha said that Albania observes the CSCE principles and particularly the inviolability of borders. The theses on a big Albania are offspring of the political fantasy of Milosevic and its friends. They do not exist in the Albanian political reality.

During the meeting they also dealt with Macedonia and Mr. Berisha expressed the firm attitude of the Albanian party to respect the independence and integrity of this republic and the friendly attitude towards it.

Government Signs Memorandum on Border Control

AU2212105092 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 22 (ATA)—On December 21 the memorandum of understanding for the supervising mission of the European Community was signed at the Foreign Ministry. For the Albanian side it was signed by Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and for the presidence of the European Community (till January 1993 it is chaired by Britain) Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth.

This memorandum marks a further step in the relations of Albania with the European Community in the field of security. It foresees the control of the Albanian border with Yugoslavia and is intended at preventing the spread of conflict from Bosnia and Hercegovina to the other countries. The concrete activity of this commission is intended at gathering facts and information for the European political institutions on the situation in the region.

This memorandum is a clear testimony to the fact that Albania is for the solution of crisis in former Yugoslavia by means of political dialogue and abides by its already

known attitude for non change of borders by means of might. The supervising mission of the European Community is component part of the whole policy to prevent the conflict, which has been endorsed by the international forums. Apart from this mission, it intends on sending CSCE missions in Kosovo, which are present and conduct their activity there. These missions, as it was decided at the meeting of the CSCE foreign ministers held in Stockholm, will considerably increase. As is known, the CSCE unanimously supported the UN presence in Kosovo.

European Council Commission Holds Economic Seminar

AU1612160592 Tirana ATA in English 1110 GMT 16 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 16 (ATA)—The delegation of the Economic Commission of the European Council, which arrived in Albania on December 15, met with the Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Pjeter Arbnori and a group of deputies of the People's Assembly. They briefed the delegation on the political and economic situation and the hardships facing our country.

The seminar on the problems of economic development started in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses. The seminar was opened by Pjeter Arbnori who said that Albania is determined to follow the road of consolidation of democracy. Mr. Holtz, leader of the delegation of the Economic Commission of the European Community, who chaired the seminar, said: We have come here to get acquainted with your problems and difficulties, the priority development, and to help in this direction.

Genc Ruli, minister of finances and economy, presented an overview of the economic state following the application of the reform, the hardships facing our countries, and the priorities of the economic development.

Then members of the delegation pointed to the relations existing between their countries and Albania and took interest in some particular problems of economy. Ministers Ruli and Hoxha gave explanations.

Mr. Pjeter Arbnori, responding to a question of a Greek parliamentarian, said that Albania's membership to the Islamic Conference Organization does not change the orientation of our policy to Europe. We are a European country and intend to integrate to Europe.

Trade Sector Heads Growth in Private Sector

AU1812191792 Tirana ATA in English 1107 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 17 (ATA)—Since the beginning of the privatization process until now the number of the state objects privatized amounts to over 15,000. Hence, the value of the state assets amounts to over 400 million leks, of which 367 million leks are cashed in the budget. Trade plays the main role in the private activity with about 58 percent, whereas public services and those of handicraft 29 percent, transport 12 percent, etc. About 2,000 objects are leased. The number of the workers employed amounts to 58 thousand.

These days privatization has been also extended to other sectors of industry, construction, etc.

Deputies Discuss Adoption Bill

AU1812203592 Tirana ATA in English 1118 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 18 (ATA)—Analysing on December 17 the illicit forms of adoption of the Albanian children abroad, the Albanian parliament intended to heal one of the gravest wounds caused by the political and economic transition. Anyhow the babies' mafia continues to operate within the so-called legislation.

Some Albanian prostitutes, which previously illegally practised this trade, now according to secret contracts get pregnant with foreigners and in the third or fourth months conform all rules go to visit their boss and after delivery leave the baby there. This facilitates the procedure to get ready the documents of adoption and makes it easier to get possession of thousands of dollars. Often these girls do not turn back in Albania, apart from the cases when they are offered profitable contracts.

An official at the Ministry of Public Order, who did not accept to identify, claims that she knows one of them and expresses the regret that such cases cannot be punished due to the lack of proofs and respective legislation.

Foreign Ministry Demands Explanation From Turkey

AU1812215092 Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 18 (BTA)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs today approached the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Sofia for explanations in connection with a report which appeared in the December 14, 1992 MILLIYET and alleged that President Turgut Ozal of Turkey set forth before former MP's of the Motherland Party the programme of a new party, envisaging a "neo-Ottoman" role for Turkey, BTA learnt from the office of the Foreign Ministry spokesperson.

MILLIYET wrote that, as a first stage in the implementation of the "neo-Ottoman" plan, Mr. Ozal suggested an extension of the scope of Black Sea economic cooperation from the Caspian Sea to the Adriatic. He also stressed the importance of an east and central European union to counter the Western European Union.

As is known, the Bulgarian public and media reacted strongly to this report.

The Turkish Embassy undertook to supply information on the matter raised with the shortest possible delay.

New Restrictions on CIS Tourists Outlined

AU2112194692 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today introduced temporary additional restrictions for tourists from Russia, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. CIS tourists should have 40 dollars for each day of their stay and a return ticket. No foreign currency will be required from tourists invited by relatives of direct descent.

Under the Council of Ministers decision, CIS citizens may stay in this country for up to thirty days (excluding those invited by relatives). The decision obliges the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to draft a bilateral accord on eased visa requirements by the end of 1992 and warn the CIS countries along diplomatic channels that if the inflow of persons travelling to Bulgaria continues to increase, Bulgaria would consider the introduction of visa requirements.

The cabinet decision is linked to expectations for a great influx of would-be immigrants from the former Soviet Union following the introduction of free travel for CIS citizens as of January 1, 1993.

Trade Surplus With Balkan States Increasing

AU2112181492 Sofia BTA in English 1512 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—Bulgaria is retaining a surplus in trade with neigbouring countries.

The upward trend in trade between Bulgaria and the other Balkan countries registered in 1991 persisted and was considerably stronger in 1992, the BULGARSKI BIZNES weekly wrote recently. The value of exports (calculated in U.S. dollars along current exchange rates) rose almost threefold and of imports nearly fivefold over the first half of 1992 from the same period of 1991. The volume of imports fell by 5 percent and of exports by 45 percent.

Bulgaria's exports to Balkan countries made up 25.6 percent of total exports (up from 8.6 percent in the first six months of 1991) and imports rose by 10 percent to 14.1 percent.

The volume of Bulgarian exports to Balkan states was 1.2 percent larger than that of exports to EC countries (excluding Greece).

Exports to Albania and Romania rose, respectively, 32-fold and fourfold. The value of exports to Yugoslavia rose threefold, to Turkey 2.8-fold and to Greece 1.8-fold. Chemicals, machinery and, to a less degree, foods, light industry articles and building materials top export lists.

Over the first six months of 1992, imports from Greece rose 16-fold and from Romania 14-fold over the same period of last year. Imports from Turkey and Yugoslavia rose by, respectively, 172.3 percent and 211.7 percent while the share of these countries in Bulgaria's imports declined (from 32.9 percent to 12.0 percent for Turkey and from 44.4 percent to 19.8 percent for Yugoslavia). Consumer goods top Bulgaria's import list. From Romania, this country also imports machinery and chemical industry products.

Overall, Bulgaria has a surplus in trade with the Balkan countries. The balance, however, varies with individual countries. Thus, the trade balance with Greece is negative for the first time in many years. The dynamics of trade with Romania is similar. Bulgaria retains a surplus in trade with Yugoslavia, Turkey and Romania for several years.

Analysis shows that trade with Balkan states is on the rise but, at the same time, individual market are unsteady.

DPS-SDS Talks on Forming Cabinet Break Down

AU2112143292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Olga Ivanova reports on the talks between the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. Have the talks made any progress?

[Ivanova] Events in the East Hall of the National Assembly moved rather quickly. A few moments ago the DPS deputies left the hall, where a joint meeting with the SDS parliamentary faction was taking place. Why did they leave? According to Mr. Osman Oktay, the DPS deputies left the hall because the procedure proposed by

the DPS leaders, namely, to discuss several alternative candidates for the post of prime minister and jointly select the most appropriate one, was rejected by the SDS partners. The DPS wanted to have a jointly elected candidate, who tomorrow would be given the mandate to form a government. However, Mr. Lyutfi said afterward that if after so many meetings the SDS is again proposing only a single candidate—outgoing Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov—the DPS parliamentary faction was not prepared for the time being to continue the talks.

As for the question of whether this means that the DPS was rejecting Mr. Sokolov's candidacy, Yunal Lyutfi replied that the position on Mr. Sokolov's candidacy will be explained at a news conference to be held later today. The DPS leaders think that at the moment their partners in the SDS coalition are not guided by a willingness to form a new cabinet. Nevertheless, Mr. Lyutfi pointed out that nothing is final yet.

At the moment the two parliamentary factions have begun separate meetings.

We asked Mr. Lyutfi whether the DPS has an alternative for forming a cabinet in the event the SDS candidate is rejected. He replied that there is plenty of time and there will probably be many meetings before tomorrow.

DPS Details Issues

AU2112175092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] The joint session of National Assembly deputies from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] was interrupted at the request of the DPS deputies.

According to their statement, the representatives of the SDS coalition did not observe the rules agreed upon in advance on jointly voting for the nomination of a candidate for prime minister and on submitting alternative candidates.

After the subsequent, separate meeting of the SDS parliamentary group, some of the deputies shouted: Elections.

The most inveterate SDS hardliners demanded early elections after a caretaker government has taken over. According to them, the DPS mandate is not likely to be successful.

Other deputies expressed the hope that the DPS may select a new candidate by tomorrow with the partial support of the SDS, which should be approved by both political forces.

The possibility of a so-called experts' cabinet under the DPS mandate has also been mentioned.

According to Professor Petur Markov, such a government could count on the votes of members from all three parliamentary groups. It is possible that the SDS may change its view by 1700 tomorrow, but according to Ilyan Shotlekov, the probability of another meeting between the SDS and DPS contact groups is one out of 100.

The latest news from the Assembly lobbies indicates that the contact groups are likely to meet as early as tonight. The session of the DPS parliamentary group members is continuing and we have not heard any of their views. Nevertheless, they confronted reporters with the enigmatic announcement that they are awaiting a meeting with an important public figure from outside of parliament.

DPS Rejects SDS Candidate

AU2112215292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Olga Ivanova report]

[Text] The meeting between the contact groups of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] discussing the nomination of a candidate for prime minister under the DPS mandate continues.

It is clear that the proposal to nominate Yordan Sokolov as a candidate for prime minister has already failed. The chief reason for the DPS not accepting him is that during his interview with the DPS parliamentary group today, Sokolov declared his intention not to make any changes in the policies of the outgoing government. The second reason for the DPS refusal to accept him is the inflexibility with which Sokolov insisted that ministers Luchnikov, Valentin Vasilev, Ivan Kostov, and Stoyan Ganev should remain in his future government.

The chief argument of the DPS for rejecting him, which they also wish to use as a guarantee, is that the candidate for the post of prime minister should be supported by the total parliamentary group of the SDS coalition and that he must actually obtain 121 votes, which should also guarantee support for him in the plenary session.

The meeting continues. A new candidate is expected to be proposed during the talks. We expect to learn the name of the candidate, whom the DPS deputies are expected to propose to the president, about noon tomorrow at the earliest.

DPS Explains Rejection

AU2212101092 Sofia BTA in English 2210 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—After almost nine-hour talks between the parliamentary and contact groups of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) it became clear that the DPS would not approve the proposal of the SDS to nominate outgoing Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov as prime minister-designate. Mr. Yordan Sokolov cannot poll the necessary number of votes, Mr. Evgeni Matinchev of the DPS explained.

That is why the DPS has asked the SDS to present another candidate that would unite the MP's. It seems to us that Mr. Yordan Sokolov is too much of a hardliner and we believe that he would continue to a full extent the policy of the cabinet of Filip Dimitrov, Yunal Lyutfi, spokesman of the parliamentary group of the DPS, said. That is why his candidature as a prime minister-designate nominated under the mandate of the DPS is unacceptable to us.

The negotiations between the DPS and the SDS will continue tomorrow. If no agreement is reached, the DPS has a stand-by option for a prime minister-designate, Mr. Osman Oktay of the DPS said.

Already at their meeting early this afternoon the parliamentary groups of the DPS and the SDS failed to reach an agreement on the nomination of outgoing Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov as prime minister-designate. The parliamentary group of the DPS walked out of the meeting and Mr. Osman Oktay, one of the leaders of the movement, said that this was provoked by the fact that the SDS had not observed the preliminary agreements reached between the two political forces.

The candidate for prime minister-designate was to have been discussed jointly by the two parliamentary groups and not chosen by the SDS and then proposed to the DPS, Mr. Yunal Lyutfi added. Therefore our parliamentary group deemed it adequate to leave the meeting because it was formal and meaningless, said Mr. Lyutfi. He stated that the wish of the DPS was to find a unifying personality to head the cabinet of national responsibility but unfortunately this was not the case.

This morning DPS leader Ahmed Dogan met with President Zhelyu Zhelev. The meeting was of an unofficial one and Mr. Dogan informed the president of the preliminary stand of the DPS and of the concessions the movement was willing to make.

Later on the two parliamentary groups conferred separately. The leader of the Democratic Party (in the SDS) and former National Assembly chairman Stefan Savov declined to comment on what the parliamentary group of the SDS had discussed but expressed the opinion that "in an open ballot everyone in the SDS would vote for the government." According to him, the SDS would not propose a new candidate for the prime minister's post. SDS Chief Secretary Ivan Kurtev said that not everything was lost and that the walkout of the parliamentary group of the DPS did not mean that the negotiations were over.

The SDS coalition is behaving with dignity and will win the elections if they are provoked by the DPS, Vasil Mikhaylov MP of the SDS commented after the talks.

The meeting of the parliamentary group of the SDS ended without the adoption of a decision and the candidature of Yordan Sokolov remained pending. This is the opinion of MP's of the "B-12" group who voted against Yordan Sokolov yesterday. But this group has not proposed an alternative candidate because of its stand that this should be done by the SDS as a whole.

The most frequently mentioned solution by some MP's today was a "cabinet of experts" formed under the mandate of the DPS. According to Prof. Petur Markov MP of the SDS (representative of the centrist tendency in the coalition), this is the only possible solution because most MP's of the SDS are convinced that the DPS would not approve Mr. Sokolov as a prime minister-designate. Some MP's hope that tomorrow the DPS would nominate a new candidate with the support of part of the SDS who would be approved by most MP's of the two parliamentary groups.

This evening the candidate of the SDS met with the parliamentary group of the DPS. At the almost two-hour talks he set forth his views on the composition and structure of the future cabinet. Asked whether he was disturbed by the negative attitude of the DPS towards him, Mr. Sokolov said that this attitude had changed and that today's talks had contributed to the elucidation of some points. According to him, the future cabinet should include Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, Minister of the Environment Valentin Vasilev, Justice Minister Svetoslav Luchnikov and Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev. As regards the concrete policy of a future cabinet, Mr. Sokolov would insist on some corrections in the relations with the trade unions, on stepping up the economic reform and above all on a faster translation of the land and privatization acts into practice. Mr. Sokolov, who accepted the proposal to head the future cabinet after long persuasion, told the DPS of his readiness to withdraw immediately if a more unifying figure is found. "Because I personally am not convinced that I am the most unifying figure," he said after the meeting. Asked whether there would be a joint meeting of the two parliamentary groups, Mr. Sokolov said that common sense requires this.

DPS Proposes 'Government of Experts'

AU2212115092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Telephone report by Olga Ivanova from National Assembly building in Sofia on talks between contact groups of Rights and Freedoms Movement (DPS) and Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) on forming a new government—live]

[Text] At their prearranged meeting at lunchtime today with representatives of the contact group of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], the leaders of the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] received the information that the SDS coalition firmly maintains the position it adopted yesterday, that is, it keeps to the same policy that the SDS national conference confirmed, advocating the same persons in the cabinet and offering only one candidate for prime minister—Yordan Sokolov.

According to DPS spokesman Yunal Lyutfi, this response compels the DPS to consider the need to change over to its own reserve alternative. What is this alternative? This was also explained a short time ago; it is to propose a putative government of experts. Among the names for candidate prime minister, three people are being mentioned at the moment, who were in fact previously considered by the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]: Professor Lyuben Berov, Professor Todor Vulchev, and Professor Krustyu Petkov. However, the final choice of the prime minister designate will perhaps be announced in about two hours time.

At the moment the DPS is preparing a declaration, which according to Lyutfi concerns the current political situation, the place of the DPS in it, and the alternative solutions.

Smaller Parties Reject SDS Candidate

AU2112213692 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Liberals Party which emerged from the unification of three liberal parties last Sunday gave its first press conference today. Its leader, Mr. Petko Simeonov, declared that its aims will be a stable president, parliament and cabinet without allowing the ruling party to "bully" the state structures. A spokesman for the Liberals expressed claims on the political place of the ruling coalition.

The extraparliamentary Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) approves the efforts of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) to form a cabinet enjoying broad public support and has authorized its executive bureau to take decisions on the BSDP's possible participation in it, a political declaration made public by the Social Democrats at their press conference today reads. According to them, the nomination of outgoing Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov as prime minister-designate by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) is not favorable for Bulgaria and would lead to the stopping of the reform.

At its press conference today the Bulgarian Democratic Center, uniting extraparliamentary parties, also described the candidature of Yordan Sokolov as inappropriate. It motivated its stand with the "60 per cent surge in the crime rate during his term as interior minister" the routed counter intelligence and his inclination to perform political assignments,.

The dilemma "a cabinet at all costs or elections" is false and extrinsic to the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. I am not an optimist as regards the outcome of the efforts to form a cabinet, Mr. Zhan Videnov, leader of the opposition Bulgarian Socialist, ex-Communist, Party, said in the city of Khaskovo today. He visited Khaskovo on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the first socialist organization in this city. [passage omitted]

BSP Leaders Discuss Fallout of Boyadzhiev Affair

AU2012200792 Sofia BTA in English 1954 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—The Supreme Council and the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party opened a closed-door plenum here today. The Socialists took eight hours to analyze the results of the party's failed cabinet-formation mandate. Among other things, the participants considered certain views on the political situation of the Alliance for Social Democracy (OSD), a tendency within the party. Judging by the scanty information for the press on the closed-door meeting, two tendencies took shape in the analysis of the results. The hard-liners in the BSP were categorical in their positive assessment of the progress of the mandate, while a number of representatives of the Alliance for Social Democracy argued that this was a serious mistake of the party. It emerged that the economist Mr. Georgi Pirinski of the OSD has resigned from the BSP floor leadership. Ms. Petya Shopova MP of the OSD recently leveled strong criticism at the leadership of the parliamentary BSP and called on them to resign along with the party leaders.

Mr. Krasimir Premyanov MP moved a vote of confidence in the leadership of the BSP Supreme Council. According to anonymous sources, this leadership won the confidence vote.

The debate on the BSP mandate was serious but not acrimonious, a source said. Late in the evening, the participants opened a debate on item two of the agenda: The ongoing mandate of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms to nominate a prime minister designate of Bulgaria.

Leadership Wins Confidence Vote

AU2012192292 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Executive Bureau and parliamentary faction received a vote of confidence through a secret vote at the plenum of the BSP Supreme Council and the socialist deputies, which took place on 20 December.

The parliamentary faction was supported by 55 votes versus 18 against, and three abstentions. Four members did not participate in the voting.

The Executive Bureau was supported by 62 against 12 votes.

Georgi Pirinski and Kiril Zhelev resigned from the leadership of the BSP parliamentary faction. The position of the BSP vis-a-vis the mandate of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms will be discussed.

Two Smaller Parties To Form New Liberal Party

AU1912194692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] The Liberals Party and the National Democracy Party will form a New Liberal Party tomorrow. The two parties decided this today at separate national conferences. Representatives of the Democratic Party-Conservative Pact will take part in the unification congress, but because its statute requires a six-month period between calling and holding a party congress, the party has not yet adopted a decision on joining the new formation.

At its own national conference today, the Constitutional Forum Political Club decided by secret ballot not to take part in the unification congress due to program and structural considerations and differences in views on the role and place of the future party in the country's sociopolitical life.

New Party for Gypsies Established

AU1912194492 Sofia BTA in English 1603 GMT 19 Dec 92

[From BTA Sofia press review]

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—A Romany Christian Democratic Party is being constituted in the town of Popovo (northeastern Bulgaria) today, 24 CHASA reports, quoting the president of the Indi-Roma Association Vasil Danev. The new party was established as an alternative to the Gypsy faction in the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement], according to the founders. Mr. Danev says the idea was to open a rift among the Gypsy barons. The chairman of the Roma Democratic Union Manush Romanov describes the initiative as "unserious." Barons of several Gypsy clans in Varna also said that they would boycott the establishment of the new Gypsy party, the daily observes.

'Christian Agrarian Party' Established

AU1912194092 Sofia BTA in English 1731 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—A Christian Agrarian Party was founded here today. The more than 400 delegates who attended the constituent conference adopted the rules of the new organization and a political declaration. The leadership of the party consists of seven members. Mr. Ivan Glushkov was elected chairman.

Mr. Glushkov was deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly and activist of the state-sponsored Bulgarian Agrarian Party. He recently declined a senior diplomatic posting abroad, arguing that he would rather be active on the local political scene. The Christian Agrarian Party is his brainchild.

The formation established today defined itself as a democratic, right-of-centre and anti-communist party which will defend the interests of the emerging middle class in Bulgaria, guided by Christian ethics and the Bulgarian nation's virtues. The organization's emblem will be a venerable oak tree and its colour will be bright yellow.

The party will support the efforts of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the other non-communist formations to decommunize and democratize Bulgarian society. It declares itself against any perestroyka options for a replacement of the system, and against overt or covert forms of collaboration or coalition with the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party].

The political declaration asserts that a durable settlement of the persistent political crisis can only be achieved by the formation of an all-SDS cabinet on the basis of a programme coordinated with the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and with its parliamentary support.

The foremost immediate priority of the Christian Agrarians will be to build local structures in all parts of the country, so that the party could rest on a wide power base and be well prepared for possible general elections.

New Turkish Party Seen Helping DPS Image

AU1912200892 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 14 Dec 92 p 6

[Yordano Konstantinov commentary: "Gift for Mr. Dogan"]

[Text] Just when the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] holds the mandate to form a government, its implacable enemies who formed the Turkish Democratic Party (TDP) perform an amazing service for it. The TDP was also conceived more as a movement in defense of rights than as a political party. However, even if we are not to see two DPS parties (which would be normal in a country that is split in general and in all individual respects), what is done is done.

Dogan's former comrades in arms accuse him of being a traitor who plays the game of the communists and the former State Security and who is bringing back the revival process [campaign to forcibly change Bulgarian Muslims' names]. We know from the splinter groups that left the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] that such a repertoire arouses great public interest, if not sympathy, toward the objects of such attacks.

The future TDP firmly advocates national self-determination and preservation of the "Turkish national minority," and regards national unification as a crafty assimilation trick. Dogan will find it easy to brand the party's founders as extremists, whatever his true view of them is.

The DPS electorate did not permit it to be such a right-wing group as it appeared a year ago. During the summer and fall the DPS showed that it not only plays a balancing role in parliament but also has fully mastered this role. Now it has been supplied with "extremists" on the nationality issue also, from which it may appear that Dogan's party-cum-movement is not so extreme after all.

Doubts will continue to hang over the DPS in the future, for they are far more lasting than the shifting pictures in the political kaleidoscope. However, should we be surprised if after a time a sounding of public opinion represents the DPS as the most moderate, balanced, and centrist real political force in Bulgaria?

Civic Initiative Movement Elects New Chairman

AU1912194992 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] The Civic Initiative Movement held a national conference in Sofia today. The conference analyzed the organization's activities and the actions of the leadership, and views were expressed concerning the movement's suspended membership in the Union of Democratic Forces.

The movement's chairman Lyubomir Sobadzhiev declared the conference to be illegitimate. The conference elected Todor Gagalov as the movement's chairman.

Strasky Views Bugging, Citizenship, Other Issues

AU2212112592 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 17 Dec 92 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky by Miroslav Honzik; place and date not given: "Half an Hour With the Federal Prime Minister"]

[Excerpt] [Honzik] A calm and dignified conclusion to the operation of the Federal Government has on several occasions been disturbed by unexpected occurrences. One recent example is the discovery of the bugging device in the U.S. Consulate building in Bratislava. Although this instance is a cumulation of far too many accidents, the Federal Government will probably have to deal with it.

[Strasky] There are instances where it undoubtedly would be better if they were already dealt with on the national principle. Nonetheless, it applies here, too, that while federal jurisdiction exists, the Federation must get involved. Therefore, Minister Cermak was assigned the task of investigating whether anybody, and if so, then who was responsible for the removal of the bugging devices. All of them. That is, there are rumors of other instances of eavesdropping. He is also to find out who could be interested in using this equipment if he "forgot" it there for whatever reasons. Minister Cermak must answer these questions before the end of the year and file a report. I would prefer not to discuss whether the report will be final or just an interim one.

[Honzik] Some ambiguities regarding the citizenship issue have already arisen. There are many Czechs who, for one reason or another, have lived in Slovakia for a long time and do not have a resident status in the Czech Republic. The law on domicile has not been passed by the parliament, hence, so far, the place of birth is not significant either. How should one proceed in such cases?

[Strasky] For 20 years we have poked fun at the double citizenship in the Czechoslovak Republic and in one of the republics, and now—with the partition of the state—the question acquires a very serious significance. I want to confirm that the Czech Republic is keen to prevent any civic disorder or animosity from arising at the application of this law. Nor do we want a mass exodus of any population group. I am convinced that extraordinary measures can be found even in the framework of this law—optional, for instance, that will be employed in the event of undue harshness of the law. It is important to us that anyone can obtain Czech citizenship if he is interested and has good grounds and reasons. We must sympathize with the Czechs who lived here for some time and then for good reason temporarily moved to Slovakia. As formulated, the law is too harsh to these people.

[Honzik] Prime Minister Klaus said that the government is not interested in having its own paper or some kind of a government bulletin, but rather its own radio frequency. Do you believe that the radio can substitute for a government bulletin, in which issues can be explained in detail?

[Strasky] The Czech Government certainly realizes the difference in the effect on the masses of individual media, and is contemplating the possibilities of increasing public awareness of government decisions and policies by means of media emerging from the reorganization. We have considered the advantages of the press medium in the former Czech Government, and for a short time such a bulletin actually appeared. Prime Minister Klaus probably meant that the government does not want to acquire anything more than it actually needs for the effective transfer of information. The government will probably have a lot to explain to increase public awareness. Right now, for instance, a dispute is looming with businessmen on the amount of taxes and insurance premiums. Prime Minister Klaus correctly compared it with the "Sunar affair" [uproar caused by a hefty increase in the price of baby formula following the liberation of dairy product prices] when something was also overlooked. Precisely in such cases, it would be useful if the government could explain its stand. It certainly is not a matter of obtaining a monopoly on information and proselytizing the public. The government's only concern is to efficiently inform the public.

In the instance of the dispute with the businessmen, it is my pleasure to note that the Czech Government is seeking a solution and is ready to respond to the problem by an appropriate amendment. [passage omitted]

Commentary Speculates on People Behind Bugging

AU2212093092 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 16 Dec 92 p 3

[Commentary by Lubor Kohout: "Who Is Listening at the Door?"]

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has proclaimed in connection with the bugging of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava that he has no idea who is playing this dirty game in their (Slovakia's) team colors. If he were to look in the mirror, one of the culprits would materialize instantly. Meciar, undoubtedly, is not suffering from amnesia, he is merely trying to preserve his fading prestige and mitigate the international repercussions. His attempt to off-load responsibility onto federal bodies has not been too successful; apart from this, it seems that his ambiguous claims about other bugging devices at representative offices in Prague are merely an unsuccessful bluff. Even if Meciar's claims were true, it does not have to mean anything. After all, there is a huge difference among those against whom bugging technology is utilized. Intelligence information on citizens of countries that support international terrorism or drug trafficking or whose secret services operate in our

country and try to impose its influence is not compromising for the Czech side; on the contrary, it is a necessary obligation. Of course, thanks to the Bratislava incident, one of Meciar's Czech political allies has come out into the open: Richard Sacher. He was very quick to speak in Meciar's defense.

The investigation into the Bratislava incident by the appropriate authorities is more than ludicrous. Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak has entrusted his first deputy, Stefan Lastovka, with conducting the investigation. Prior to this year's elections, he was Slovak police president and—according to testimony, for example, from former Slovak Interior Ministry Inspectorate Director Leonard Cimo—was involved in illegal activities and in establishing an illegal Slovak secret service. According to reliable sources, this service's intelligence apparatus is partly concealed in the offices tasked with protecting the Slovak Republic's economic interests. To expect that Mr. Lastovka will find the real culprits is more than naive. A possible investigation by the Prosecutor General's Office will also—most likely—come to nothing, judging by its previous activities.

The claim that certain Czech Government representatives know most of the details concerning the bugging of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava may seem audacious. Nevertheless, certain facts point to this. Only they know why they do not stand up and respond to Meciar's attacks by revealing the truth. Is it because they are afraid of the possible consequences and, therefore, prefer to be governed by the old saying "talking is silver, silence is golden"? Undoubtedly, whether or not all the facts are officially made known will depend on the stance adopted by Czech Prime Minister Klaus. As long as journalists are dependent on possible indiscretions committed by those closest to him, this information will certainly be interesting; nevertheless, it will again be information obtained underhand and, therefore, will have no great value as evidence.

The clandestine visits to Ukraine by Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna and Slovak Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik—a former Hlinkovite [member of World War II fascist paramilitary organization Hlinka Guard] who, among other things, was imprisoned in the USSR—are, in the overall context, interesting. Especially as, according to information from a Slovak Interior Ministry employee, the Americans were bugged following a request from the Ukrainian intelligence service, that is, from part of the former KGB.

However, other visits and meetings are also interesting. For example, the visit by Chief of Army General Staff Intelligence Service General Kozoyed, who held a clandestine meeting in Slovakia with Tuchyna.

The affair surrounding the U.S. Consulate also reveals that the series of unheeded warnings—targeted against former senior representatives in the communist Army and Interior Ministry—was justified. Tuchyna and Kozoyed are communist nomenklatura cadres and, by virtue of their previous functions, are probably indelibly linked with the KGB. Despite this, they have remained in their posts and, without doubt, have probably also made sure of their successors. The past of CSFR First Deputy Interior Minister Stefan Lastovka also speaks volumes. Among other things, he was one of the commanders in the brutal intervention against believers who had gathered for a church demonstration—the so-called candle demonstration—in Bratislava in 1988. Despite this, these and other gentlemen hold—and are still holding—senior posts, which create great opportunities for them and—as the case may be—for their real masters beyond our country's eastern borders.

To date, no agent of the KGB—or of any other secret service operating against our country's interests—has been convicted and thus lawfully sentenced. On the contrary, the conditions for their work are ideal. There should eventually come a time when we will prevent their activity by all legal means.

Knazko Knew of Meciar-Chernomyrdin Secret Meeting

AU2212131792 Prague CTK in English 1453 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 20 (CTK)—Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko told journalists last night that he knew since 14 December about the secret meeting of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in the High Tatras, north Slovakia, about which journalists learned on 17 December.

According to the Slovak news agency TA SR, Knazko characterized the meeting as one of Chernomyrdin's numerous meetings on his foreign trip. He said the talks focused on economic contacts between Slovakia and Russia, most likely on supplies of Russian oil and natural gas.

Klaus, Austria's Mock Discuss Bilateral Relations

AU1712203392 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 17 Dec 92 p 3

[Unattributed report: "More Practical Relations"]

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has criticized Austria's trade protectionism vis-a-vis Prague. After talks with Foreign Minister Alois Mock, he stated on Tuesday [15 December] evening that the 10-percent duty for imports into the Czech Republic will be abolished at the beginning of next year, as a result of which Austrian products will become 10-percent cheaper in the Czech market.

Klaus also mentioned Austria's high positive foreign trade balance and criticized "Austria's attempts to regulate imports from the Czech Republic." Klaus pointed out that he presented a list with 44 products whose

export to Austria is difficult because of protective measures. "I am very glad that this problem was now also discussed at the political level," he stressed.

Foreign Minister Alois Mock advocated a "very close cooperation" between Austria and the Czech Republic after the meeting. However, Mock also stressed that there will be no neighborhood treaty between Prague and Vienna. "I prefer varied and practical relations to treaties," Mock added.

Referring to the Stockholm CSCE meeting, Mock stated that "the CSCE has only just started to streamline its organization." Close cooperation between the CSCE and the United Nations are to be established. Asked whether he is disappointed about the weak final resolution, Mock stressed: "I am disappointed about many things, not only about the CSCE, but also about the London Conference on Yugoslavia and the UN Security Council, which only adopt decisions that they do not implement."

Czech Cabinet Approves Agreement Succession

LD1812223292 Prague CTK in English 2115 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)—The Czech Government today voiced agreement with a draft declaration of the Czech Republic on its succession to Czechoslovakia's provisional agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) on trade and related questions, which was concluded in Brussels December 15.

The agreement provides for the extension for an unlimited period of time of Czechoslovakia's provisional agreement with the European Community (EC) signed in December 1991 and effective as of March 1992, which was to expire at the end of this year.

The extension of the agreement's validity makes it possible for Czechoslovakia's successor states—the Czech and Slovak Republics—to take over the provisional agreement after the Czechoslovak Federation splits in January.

The provisional agreement is expected to stay in force until the Czech and Slovak Republics sign new agreements on their association with the EC.

Parliament Fails To Approve Radio, TV Bills

LD2112223092 Prague CTK in English 2158 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 21 (CTK)—At its 16th session today, the Czech parliament approved amendments to the law on ministries and other state administration bodies necessitated by the forthcoming division of Czechoslovakia.

The present International Relations Ministry will be replaced by the Foreign Affairs Ministry. Newly created will be the Office of Industrial Property and the authority for state material reserves.

The amended law also defines the powers of the new Czech Ministry of Defence.

In a resolution, the deputies call on the Czech Government to submit by June 1993 a proposal for nuclear safety and radiation protection state monitoring authority.

The law on the Czech Army, which was also approved today, will take effect January 1, 1993. Under it, Czech nationals can serve in the Slovak Army until March 31, 1993, and vice versa.

The law amending the powers of the Czech Interior Ministry makes it possible for the ministry to cooperate with the international police organisation Interpol.

The Czech parliament failed to approve bills on some measures concerning radio and television broadcasting. It was to ensure transferring immovable estate and copyrights from Czechoslovak television and from Czechoslovak radio to their Czech successors.

Ondrej Zemina from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) told CTK that the vote on the law clearly indicated that a majority of deputies do not wish a dual system in the sphere of the mass media.

The dual system means parallel existence of public corporations and private institutions competing for the viewers' and audiences' favour.

Later today, the parliament approved a resolution cutting the 60-day term for discussion of a law to one day. This means that a new draft law on radio and television broadcasting could be discussed on Tuesday [22 December] night.

The Czech parliament today also approved amendments to the law on the death and gift taxes and on the tax on transfer of immovables, and a law on the road tax which replaces similar legislation of May. The new law is less hard on businessmen.

The 16th session of the Czech parliament will continue tomorrow afternoon. The legislators will discuss a law on changes in health and social insurance, and a constitutional law on the transfer of federal courts to the Czech Republic.

Czech Deputies Reject Assembly Transfer

LD2012013892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2300 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Report by correspondent Alexander Picha]

[Excerpts] Czech parliamentary deputies have rejected the transfer of the Czech part of the Federal Assembly to the new Czech senate. They voted on it by secret ballot. Some Ninety-eight deputies were in favor of the transfer, but at least 120 votes were needed. Fifty-five deputies

were against and 15 abstained. Several tickets were invalid, some were never cast. [passage omitted]

The presidium of the Czech parliament is to discuss the situation now that the amended goverment-sponsored proposal has not been approved in the morning. [passage omitted]

The Czech parliament will resume today [20 December].

Parliament Approves Use of Federation's Reserves

AU2212104292 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Dec 92 p 1

[Report by "ha, pra": "Reserves Utilized; the Federal Assembly Passes Last Laws"]

[Text] The Federal Assembly yesterday approved a law on the use of resources from the Federation's state financial reserves to solve the liquidity problems of Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka [Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Bank] and decided that 12 billion korunas be released from the financial resources of the Federation. Of this sum, the use of 9,771.7 million korunas was subject to approval by the Federal Assembly.

Based on this decision of the Federal Assembly, the Federal Ministry of Finance will cover from the Federation's resources the repayment of the principal of the Central Foreign Exchange Resource's debts up to a maximum of the equivalent of 5.4 billion korunas; 5.6 billion korunas' worth of hitherto uncovered devaluation losses of foreign trade organizations; and 1 billion korunas' worth of interest on credits extended in 1992 to cover Czechoslovakia's outstanding claims against embargoed countries—Iraq, Kuwait, and Libya.

Under the Federal Assembly Law on the Termination of the Czechoslovak National Railroads [CSD], the CSD's property, rights, and obligations, including rights and obligations stemming from labor-related legal relations, are being transferred to the CSD's successor organizations to be determined by the Czech National Council and the National Council of the Slovak Republic. For all practical purposes, the territorial principle will be used to divide the CSD's real and other property; where this is impossible, division according to the 2:1 ratio will be used. However, the main criteria guiding the division of the CSD's property should be economic efficiency, functionality, and retaining the future utilization of this property.

At the proposal of deputies from the Liberal Social Union, the parliament's chambers also approved a law on the protection of consumers. First and foremost, the law lays down entrepreneurs' obligations under public law, regardless of whether they have an authorization to engage in their line of business or not. The law also defines the tasks of public administration bodies and the rights of consumer associations and other organizations involved in the protection of consumers.

Even after another debate, the deputies did not pass the amendment to the law on severance pay, the aim of which was to prevent employees of federal institutions who make a smooth transition to republic institutions from collecting severance pay. Deputies in the Slovak part of the Chamber of Nations disagreed with the amendment.

The debate on whether the national councils are under an obligation to respect individual articles of the law on the termination of the CSFR (such as the transformation of Federal Assembly deputies into the second chamber of national parliaments), which was initiated by Deputy Karel Mracek (without party affiliation) on Tuesday [15 December], was interrupted and will continue today.

Slovak Officials Rebuke Czechs on CSFR Flag

AU2212125892 Prague CTK in English 1803 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Prague/Bratislava, Dec 17 (CTK)— The Czech parliament's approval of a law on the soon-to-be independent republic's flag and symbols has drawn mixed reaction from both corners of the Czechoslovak Federation.

The Czech parliament voted to adopt the current Czechoslovak flag as its own after the federation spiits on January 1. The anticipated decision had become a contentious issue for some Slovak politicians, who had charged that the Czech Republic had no right to assume any symbols of the defunct federation.

Reacting to the law's passage today, Jiri Vlach, deputy chairman of the Czech Republic's ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS), said the Czech parliament was acting in accordance to international law. Former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel agreed, saying it seems to me that this is a legitimate decision.

Havel recalled that the Slovak Republic had already adopted its own flag, leaving the Czech Republic free to take the federal flag as its own. He stressed that Czech society probably identified with Czechoslovak statehood far more than Slovak society, adding that we (Czechs) considered this flag as our own.

Michal Kovac, chairman of the Federal Assembly, said the Czech parliament's decision respects the free will of each parliament.

Peter Weiss, deputy chairman of the Slovak parliament, meanwhile, denounced the move as unfair and called it another attempt by the Czech Republic at assuming the mantle of Czechoslovakia for itself.

Slovak parliament chairman Ivan Gasparovic added that this proved that the Czech nation was not identified with its own statehood, but rather with Czechoslovak statehood. Weiss said a decision on republic symbols should have been reached in joint Czech-Slovak talks.

This will not contribute to the improvement of relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics, he said.

Meciar Interviewed on Various Issues

LD2012044492 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Zuzana Stukovska; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Stukovska] Although the Federal Assembly yesterday officially ended its activities, its deputies still do not know their fate. The position of the leadership of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] on this question is known. It is worth mentioning the fact—which first and foremost the opposition is pointing out—that it was the HZDS deputies in the Federal Assembly, who in the constitutional law on the termination of the federation created a constitutional trap on the functioning of the legislative powers of the independent Slovak Republic. What then, Mr. Prime Minister, motivated the HZDS leadership more—the voices of people who refuse to finance a large parliament within the framework of a small Slovakia, or the fear that your movement will lose its dominant influence in the National Council?

[Meciar] It was not altogether correct to put this question thus. The maxim is true: the people's voice is God's voice. The movement will not lose its dominant position in the National Council because two chambers would be created; moreover, the creative power to adopt the constitutional laws will be concentrated in the present chamber. So it is not egotism that made the leadership decide as it did. They proceeded first of all from the analysis that they had developed themselves in their districts and from the meetings they had with citizens. Therefore, they did not recommend the creation of a second chamber. On the other hand, it is necessary to see that the deputies in the Federal Assembly are a great asset; they are people who have passed through life's experiences, passed through political activities, and it would be a shame to lose them.

Therefore every party, every movement, is seeking a way to use them in the future. Those who are in the HZDS have already been offered places in other working organizations. They did not take up even the financially lucrative ones. They had severance payments, but did not accept them, because they want to carry out their mandates. They understand their mandates as their moral obligation, which they received from the citizens, and all suspicions or invective of any other nature are pointless. One should have respect for the deputies from our club in the Federal Assembly. For the first time in many years, they did not betray, no one was for sale, and no one deviated from their own program. Therefore I personally will do everything I can so that the experience and this amassed political capital that they represent are used for Slovakia's benefit, whether in a second chamber or outside it.

[Stukovska] Can you say already today when this issue will finally be resolved?

[Meciar] It will most likely be decided when it is voted on in the National Council of the Slovak Republic. The draft constitutional law that would set up a temporary chamber is ready. We have given it to the opposition parties, who promised to debate it in their clubs and submit it for discussion to the National Council. Naturally, after the leadership has taken a stance, there will be no more initiative on our part.

[Stukovska] Is there a chance that the whole thing will be completed by the end of this year?

[Meciar] It is an open problem. It is quite possible that it will be completed at the beginning of next year.

[Stukovska] Yesterday, the Czech Republic, in a very blatant way, breached the constitutional law on ending the federation. Its parliament approved the adoption of the flag of the still-existing common state. Mr. Vlach, Czech National Council deputy chairman, insists that it is, in effect, in harmony with international law. Is this explanation satisfactory to the Slovak side?

[Meciar] There are certain agreements on what the flag should look like, although these are only oral agreements; nothing has been put down on paper. These agreements have not been observed. A law has been adopted by the whole Federal Assembly, but it has not been observed. So everyone has to decide for himself how trustworthy the other partner is. One cannot proceed any longer from the fact that Slovakia is our part, since Slovakia is an independent state. Relations between states must be based on trust and mutual advantages. Trust here is mainly about honestly fulfilling what has been agreed upon. And the Czech side has again, in the usual way, cast doubt on this honesty.

[Stukovska] This week has seen lots of friction, also in relations between the HZDS and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. You have allegedly been given an ultimatum—four ministerial posts or the SNS chairman will leave the government. Am I right in assuming that the post of president of the Slovak Republic [for SNS Chairman Prokes] will be a certain compromise in this dispute?

[Meciar] This must be perceived as it really is. The HZDS has fulfilled its election program. This program was similar to the program of the SNS, but it was not identical. There were considerable differences in the programs, and there are also differences in their fulfillment. Differences were also in the extent to which the parties participated in the implementation of this program, as well as in the degree of responsibility.

Now that the program has been fulfilled, the SNS, just as any other party, must seek a new program under new

conditions. It has not worked it out yet. It must restructure its membership, which it has not done yet. It must build new relations with foreign countries. This is not happening yet. In this situation, the SNS has proposed to form a coalition with us. Let us imagine what this coalition would bring the SNS. Many internal things would be solved by linking party activity to state activity. Would this help the state? What about the situation abroad?

The HZDS has enough problems as it is in trying to get rid of the label of nationalism. An open coalition with the SNS would deepen this suspicion even more. Let us imagine what this would bring on the internal scene. The opposition's defiance of the government would sharpen immediately, mainly on the part of the Hungarian movements, but also on the part of the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left], whose attitude toward us would be even worse than that of the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement]. So this step cannot be motivated by: I want to. It must be motivated by what will be good for Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Thus the SNS's pressure to achieve a public coalition is a bit egotistic. It has emerged in the least suitable moment, just before forming our statehood, and there is no reason for it from the point of view of forming the parliamentary system, either. A coalition is always formed in the parliament in order to sustain the government—we [HZDS] have 74 votes and need one more to be sustained. You do not give four ministerial posts and a post of deputy chairman of the National Council, chairman of the committee and other posts in exchange for one vote. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] Is the post of the president of the Slovak Republic not going to become a compromise solution in this dispute?

[Meciar] We are not going to elect him for the party, either of us—we are going to elect him for the Slovak Republic. A proposal of two personalities has been formulated within the HZDS. Each of them is a prominent personality. They will have equal chances within the movement to fight to gain the leadership's favor, and the one who will win our favor will be put forward by us to other coalition parties. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] What is your reaction to the views, which by the way emerged within your movement, that HZDS should be satisfied with the posts of the prime minister of the government and parliament chairman? [passage omitted]

[Meciar] You must take into account that we have been creating a new political culture. What should be the basis for selecting a candidate for the post of president? Should this be based on a decision of the political caucus? [passage omitted]

The selection is extremely complicated. Alexander Dubcek's death made the selection much more difficult. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] One more topic in conclusion, a topic which did not go unnoticed. Several from among your opponents describe statements made by Vladimir Meciar in an interview for the German daily SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG on the contents of a secret plan for the division of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic as an attempt to intimidate the public and as clumsy tactics on your part, which will certainly not contribute to good relations of Slovakia with the Czech Republic. And we wish so much for these, don't we?

[Meciar] It is important to differentiate between what is happening. The propaganda is constantly being hammered into the consciousness of our people. Let's take Federal Prime Minister Strasky's address in the Federal Assembly [17 December], take the activity of the Federal Television, where constantly all the blame for everything is put on Slovaks. And there are two truths, one that is written and the other one that was implemented. When talking about these secret documents that did exist, we do not blame the present government, but its predecessor. Moreover, it is not blaming anybody but proving facts. [passage omitted]

Pointing out these steps taken by the Czech side to divide the CSFR gives an answer to those in our country who kept on believing that we had had a different chance [from the division]. We did not have it. What happened and what was achieved is not a failure on the Slovak part. This way, the division is one of the historic successes that was achieved in spite of all those conditions, in spite of all that had been prepared. [passage omitted]

Slovaks Apply for Czech Citizenship

AU2212094292 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 16 Dec 92 p 2

[Interview with CSFR Prosecutor General Martin Lauko, by a "(cs)"-signed reporter; place and date not given: "Slovaks in Bohemia"]

[Text] [SMENA] According to a rough estimate by Vaclav Hendrych, director of the General Administration of the Czech Republic Interior Ministry, as of yesterday, some 7,000 Slovak citizens have submitted an application for citizenship of the Czech Republic. What are the advantages of having Czech citizenship?

[Lauko] It will mean, in practical terms, that a citizen living in Bohemia will be fully integrated in the life of the Czech Republic. He will have the right to vote and be allowed to participate fully in political life. That is, he will have all the rights and obligations of a Czech citizen.

[SMENA] What are the disadvantages for a citizen of the Slovak Republic who permanently resides in the Czech Republic, but does not ask for Czech citizenship?

[Lauko] He will be regarded as a foreigner. He will not be allowed to vote nor can he be allowed to do so. As a foreigner, he will probably not be allowed to work in the state administration.

Cabinet Discusses 'Alarming' Judiciary Situation

AU2212112692 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Report by Alena Melicharkova: "Courts Are Threatened With Collapse; From the Deliberations of the 26th Meeting of the Slovak Government"]

[Excerpts] The Government of the Slovak Republic held a session yesterday chaired by the prime minister. It approved several proposals connected with the transfer of powers, treaties, and commitments from the CSFR to the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

The government approved a list of international governmental organizations in which the Slovak Republic will seek membership. It also approved the proposal to sign the Agreement on Governmental Assistance from France for Projects Within the Framework of Privatization and Restructuring of the Slovak Industry.

The Slovak Government devoted a great deal of time to the situation in the judiciary. In discussing the draft concept for the stabilization of the judiciary in the Slovak Republic it noted that the necessary material and technical conditions for the implementation of the citizens' constitutional right to court protection and for the activity of independent courts do not exist at present. Neither does the courts' staffing correspond to the expansion of their decision-making powers. [passage omitted]

Speaking to reporters, Slovak Minister of Justice Katarina Tothova explained that the government did not approve the draft concept, on the understanding that at one of the next government meetings the justice department will submit a proposal to raise judges' salaries. According to the minister, this issue was the stumbling block at yesterday's government session. The minister described the situation in the judiciary as alarming. Besides having to cope with the transfer of a large number of powers from state administration bodies to courts, the work of judges is valued much less financially than the work of their colleagues working as lawyers.

As a result of these and other problems concerning the performance of the judiciary in the Slovak Republic (the situation in the Czech Republic is supposed to be even worse), the number of unsettled court cases keeps growing. The number of pending cases within the jurisdiction of commercial courts alone increased to more than 240,000 by October. Speaking about the proposed salaries of judges, the minister said that the starting salary should be more than 9,000 korunas, in her opinion, and the highest salary 20,000 korunas.

At its meeting yesterday the Slovak Government also dealt with the results of an inquiry into the impact of this year's drought on agricultural production. As a result of the drought, proceeds from the main commodities were 4 billion korunas lower than projected, which accounts for the high level of insolvency of agricultural enterprises.

One of the items on the government's agenda was a proposal for Slovak Republic awards. The government approved the proposal with the proviso that Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac and Ministers Dusan Slobodnik and Matus Kucera will prepare additional proposals for Slovak awards. So far, the government has approved the Order of the Slovak Double Cross, the Order of M. R. Stefanik, and the Medal for Bravery.

The Slovak Government also discussed other issues.

Possible Slovak Presidential Candidates Examined

AU2212101692 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 50 14-20 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Peter Schutz: "Slovakia Will Have a Good President"]

[Text] If nothing unexpected happens, the election of the head of the independent Slovak state should take place at the first session of the Slovak parliament in January.

With the date of elections approaching, possible candidates are more and more frequently discussed. "The presidential campaign" made one phenomenon quite visible in this country. In the consciousness of our society, the residue of closed systems [residuum uzavretych systemov] survives: feigned modesty represents the supreme virtue, while a march for a higher position is felt as an offense to average person and a deviation from the normal, a deviation deserving condemnation. If we leave unnoticed the self-appointed candidacy of unimportant outsiders, no one of the relevant and at least theoretically possible candidates showed an open interest in the highest office of the state, an office that is open.

Names—After the Second Round

It is a political anomaly that the Party of the Democratic Left has declared that has its own candidates, but instead of making them known to the public—and developing pressure on the parliamentary voters—they carefully keep their names secret. The Christian Democratic Movement is behaving in a similar way. This party announced, through J. Carnogursky, that they would identify their favorite only after the second round of presidential elections, if any. The Hungarian parties do not dare to speak about their own candidate. A mitigating circumstance may be, in their case, that the chances of a candidate of Hungarian nationality running for Slovak president are equal to the chances of a horse.

The only party that announced its own candidate is the Slovak National Party. However, rather than the expression of real ambitions, the candidacy of Jozef Prokes would be his party's compensation for the pain and damage he had suffered since he had to leave his chair to

Ludovit Cernak. There is one thing in favor of Prokes' being elected. He was a chairman of a party who was the first to sincerely and openly call, in no uncertain terms, for independence. There are also strong arguments against him: His grandmother is Czech, and compared with the For a Democratic Slovakia's selection list, his capabilities are limited.

Meciar Is Not Interested

It is true that proposals made by the satellite parties are of no practical importance. The real situation is as follows: The monopoly for appointing the first (or second, as the case may be) Slovak president is in the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement's hands, that is, in Vladimir Meciar's hands. Without his approval, no one can enter the Bratislava castle. With the passage of time, efforts to find an independent candidate who would be able to build an integrating bridge over various diverging interests, and the probes made amongst Slovaks abroad and among religious figures, fell into oblivion. For a longer span of time it has been clear that the unbeatable favorite will come from the ranks of the victorious movement.

A natural and the most serious candidate would appear to be, of course, Vladimir Meciar himself. However, it has become clear, as soon as presidential powers were being defined in the Slovak draft constitution, that he would not run for this function.

Meciar's selection of a candidate from the ranks of his own movement was not too complicated. The candidate had to meet several criteria—he had to be one of the "sixty-eighters" [Communist party members expelled from the party after 1968], he had to enjoy Meciar's favor, be absolutely faithful and obedient, and he had to be of "nonconflicting" character. This why Milan Knazko, for example, could not have been taken into account. The existing Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac was the best one to meet all these criteria.

The President Is Introducing Himself

Mr. Michal Kovac, who is the most likely to become the future Slovak president, had to involuntarily part with his Communist Party membership in 1970. He is one of those who, using their experience and knowledge, helped Castro to create the Cuban economic miracle in the sixties. After his expulsion from the party, he worked as a bank officer in a Czechoslovak State Bank branch. After the revolution, he stood at Meciar's side since the very beginning.

Since it would be a degradation for the highest constitutional body if its representatives were subordinate to someone along the party line, Mr. Kovac will also leave the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement ranks. He will then become independent. However, this will happen after the Federation is terminated.

The appropriateness of the selection of Mr. Kovac can also be documented by his recent tour around his election district. The regional daily, SLOVENSKY VYCHOD, recorded the following statement made at a meeting with city mayors and representatives of the state administration in Kosice: "The way the Trnava University problem is being presented helps creating Slovakia's bad image.... No one speaks about the fact that it is being financially supported by millionaire Soros, who is of Jewish origin.

Roots of Evil

Mr. Kovac unveils the originator of the evil and unmistakenly diagnoses its cause. He sees reasons, or motives, for having committed an evil act (supporting the Trnava University cause) in the fact that the perpetrator is of different race, different religion, and this is why is he doing harm to us. How far are we from being ready to draw the consequences, and punishing the malefactor?

In any normal democracy, such a "statement" would mean an end to his career. If the federation were not folding, it is likely that this would mean an end to his career in Czechoslovakia, too. In the independent Slovak Republic, Michal Kovac will be promoted. Maybe he will also be awarded a decoration in the future.

Czech Government Proposes 1993 Budget

LD1812172792 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)—The Czech Government has proposed a balanced state budget for 1993, with revenue and expenditures totalling 342,000 million crowns each (12,000 million USD [U.S. dollars]), Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik told the Czech National Council (parliament), which started discussing the draft budget at its 12th session today.

Explaining the first ever budget of an independent Czech Republic, Kocarnik said the gross national product is expected to grow by 1 to 3 per cent. The government envisages gradual revitalisation of the Czech economy, basing its assumption on results attained in 1992.

In September and October, for instance, industrial production rose by two per cent, and retail trade turnover increased by 18 per cent in the first 10 months against the same period last year, Kocarnik said.

He noted that the draft budget anticipates liberalisation of wages, but recommends that their growth not exceed 15 per cent. The draft allows for the possibility of effective measures including wage freeze to be taken by the government in case the spiral of inflation is unleashed.

The government aims at keeping the inflation rate at 15-17 per cent and the rate of unemployment at 4 to 5 per cent, Kocarnik said.

He said the chief resources of revenue are to be the newly introduced value-added tax—88,000 million crowns (3,100 million USD), income tax—87,000 million crowns, and a consumer tax—38,000 million crowns (1,350 million USD). Over 97,000 million crowns (3,450 million USD) are expected to be collected from social insurance payments.

As regards expenditures, the biggest sums will be earmarked for noninvestment spendings of budgetary organisations—up to 255,000 million crowns (9,200 million USD). Of this total 118,000 million crowns (4,200 million USD) is earmarked for social insurance including the state policy of employment.

Kocarnik said the draft budget provides for issuing state bonds totalling 8,000 million crowns (290 million USD) to absorb the Czech share in the debt of the Czechoslovak Federation (which ceases to exist December 31—ed).

Slovak Parliament Approves 1993 Budget

LD2112205692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] The National Council of the Slovak Republic has approved the state budget for the year 1993. The budget is set out as a balanced one, with income and expenditure each of 158 billion korunas [Kcs]. One-third of the budget's expenditure goes on social welfare.

The Slovak Parliament asked the Slovak Government to submit an amended policy statement by 28th February 1993 to reflect the new legal status of Slovakia as an independent, sovereign, democratic and legal state.

Within the law on the state budget, deputies have approved an increase in the subsidy to TA SR [Slovak news agency] of only Kcs10 million, while the subsidy increase for Slovak Radio is Kcs20 million. Slovak Television has not applied for an increased subsidy.

Discussion on Formation of Slovak Army

LD2112235692 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Interview with Col. Bohumir Gerinec, commissioner of the Slovak Repulbic Government, by an unknown TV correspondent; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Colonel Bohumir Gerinec, commissioner of the Slovak Republic Government, and other members of the commission for building the Ministry of Defense, reported today about the outcome of their work so far. In an interview for Slovak Television, Bohumir Gerinec acknowledged certain problems in the provision of social needs of the staff of the ministry. There will be about 280 of them and the main problem is to find accommodation in the capital. He placed emphasis on the fact that the Army, just like other sectors, will have to have a modest start.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Colonel, in some areas the forming of the Slovak Army and of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Defense is still a matter of guesswork. Does this mean that Slovakia's defense capability will be in place as of 1 January, despite these conjectures?

[Gerinec] As far as Slovakia's defense capability is concerned, then it has not been affected at present, because both units and units' formations [zvazky] on Slovak territory are combat capable. At present, we are completing the forming of the troop command and management structure on the Defense Ministry level and on the level of the Slovak Republic Army command. The situation is that from 1 January 1993 they will be functional and will be able to manage the units, units' formations, and administration on Slovak Republic territory. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Archives, military archives, which are in Prague now, were much discussed at the start of the talks on the division of the Czechoslovak Federation. Has this issue been resolved in some way to Slovakia's benefit, or at least to its satisfaction?

[Gerinec] [passage omitted] As far as the Army archives are concerned, particularly the archives in Olomouc and Trnava, it has been agreed—because of their size—that they should remain in the same premises where they are and that they shoud be used by both sides. [end recording]

Antall on President-Elect Clinton's Future Policy

LD2212000392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by unidentified correspondent; place and date note given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] What can the world expect from the new Clinton administration, that is, the new government of the United States?

[Antall] I would like to say that personally I have highly esteemed President Bush. I do not belong to the category of person who changes his policy of principles according to partners. In this way I manage to find new friends, because they know that I esteem old friends too. For this reason, I think highly of the activity of Mrs. Thatcher as well as of President Bush. I feel close to him. So, I would not like to give the impression that Bush is gone and I am making obsequious remarks concerning the new administration. This does not mean that we were of the same opinion in all issues of foreign policy, or I should have felt compelled to do so. I should have expected something different from the previous administrations in certain foreign political matters.

Yet, I think that in the United States there will certainly be some kind of upswing in the field of economy on account of the advent of the Clinton government during the first period, and it is mainly due to the fact that it is a new government. Perhaps, some artificially withheld economic processes will accelerate in this first period. So, the signs of an upswing in American economic life will be seen in the period of the Clinton administration.

[Correspondent] And those of a possible isolationism, too.

[Antall] Well, the Democrats are not an introspective lot. This has rather been an illness of the Republicans. Consequently, I think the Democrats will try to strengthen NATO. They will maintain the U.S. presence in Europe and pursue some kind of global policy. It is quite conceivable that they will be less attentive toward Japan and the Eastern region, or regard it as a bigger competitor, unlike the European and Atlantic region. It is conceivable that the Democratic government will consider it important, and maybe Clinton himself or Vice President Gore, that the situation be stabilized in Europe and they will follow this idea in Russian policy too. [passage omitted]

Antall Discusses Foreign Policy Issues

LD2112225592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1949 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—Yugoslavia was one of the foreign policy issues touched on by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall during an interview on the "Evening Chronicle" news program on Hungarian radio on Monday.

Asked about the chance of a military solution in Yugoslavia, Antall said the outcome of the Serbian elections would have a crucial impact on the grave situation that had emerged in the south Slav region. From the military point of view, the United Nations and NATO may have roles to play. These organisations, he said, should finally decide what they want to do. Without this, the crisis could drag on interminably.

The prime minister said that there would probably not be a ground war. The Serbian leadership should be made aware of what is at stake politically, he said. On this score, Antall recalled that some uncertainties should be considered, including the attitudes of Russia and China, two powers with vetoes in the UN Security Council. Moscow may even take a positive attitude, he said. For the crisis to be settled, the UN should maintain its presence and the West its commitment, Antall said. Due to its position as a neighbour and due to the Hungarian minorities living in Vojvodina and Slavonia, Hungary is in a special situation. Budapest should pursue a responsible policy, Antall said.

Asked about the chance of a Hungarian-Romanian summit, Antall said it is never worth meeting for the sake of meeting. Since he advocates duly prepared and substantial consultations, he thinks it more reasonable for the two countries' defense, cultural, and economic leaders and the foreign ministers to hold consultations. A summit meeting only has a point if it holds out the prospect of success, Antall said.

Concerning the debate over the Gabcikovo power plant, the prime minister said the Hungarian Government had gone as far as it had been authorised to go. Before taking further steps, the government will analyse the situation with the parliamentary committees and party groups. The separation of Czechoslovakia creates difficulties for talks and decisionmaking. Nevertheless, Budapest has not changed its view: Hungary cannot approve the C-option, which violates its territorial integrity and poses a serious ecological threat to Hungary. The implementation of the C-option, he said, had made it obvious that the 1977 Hungarian-Czechoslovak agreement had ceased to exist.

Political events in Russia, Antall said, did not allow the chance of a change of direction there to be ruled out. He added, however, that President Boris Yeltsin had proved so far an able politician who had helped transformation. The main question was, like everywhere else in eastern central Europe, the conduct of the army, Antall said, recalling that he had, on several occasions, called the attention of his Western negotiating partners to the danger of armies left without supervision.

In conclusion, Antall expounded his views on the anticipated foreign policy of the United States. After appreciating the merits of outgoing President George Bush, he said he expected an economic upswing in the initial period of the Clinton administration. The Democrats are unlikely to fall into the Republican illness and become isolationist. The

USA is expected to continue its global policy, even if some signs indicate that it would pay less attention to Southeast Asia. The new administration, however, is expected to see importance in preserving the stability of Europe and the former Soviet Union, Antall said.

Agriculture Ministry Welcomes Free Trade Pact

LD2112195692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] The Agriculture Ministry is of the opinion that the free trade partnership of the Visegrad Three is extremely favorable for Hungarian agriculture.

However, the ministry admits that the Hungarian stand that commodities should have unrestricted access to the markets of the other countries involved was not accepted. It was specified that Hungary, for instance, will be allowed to export 1,000 tons of pork and 20,000 hectoliters of spirits to Bohemia and Slovakia. However, live pigs, ground red pepper, fruit, wheat, and wine can be exported from Hungary to Poland under more favorable conditions.

Ministry Says 40,000 Yugoslav Refugees in Country

AU2112140192 Budapest MTI in English 0922 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 17 Dec (MTI)—Approximately 50,000 to 52,000 refugees have arrived in Hungary since the war broke out in Yugoslavia, with about 40,000 of them still staying here, says the socialist daily "NEPSZABADSAG", which has the largest circulation in the country, in its Thursday edition quoting figures from the Interior Ministry's Refugee Office.

Since last summer, when battles raged near the Hungarian border, a total of 50,000-52,000 refugees have arrived, including 25,000 from Croatia, 7,500 from Bosnia and 18,000-20,000 from Vojvodina.

Since then, 7,500 asylum-seekers have returned to their homes, and 3,500-4,000 left on for a third country.

At present, 30-40 refugees come in Hungary on a weekly average, mainly from Bosnia, and there are about as many returnees.

When the wave of refugees reached its peak last summer and autumn, asylum-seekers were accommodated at 31 sites in 23 towns and villages.

Of the three permanent camps in Bicske, Bekescsaba and Hajduszoboszlo, only the latter has free places to offer.

There are 2,500 people in Nagyatad, 250 in Ves and 600 in the Csongrad barracks taken over from the armed forces, but most refugees invariably stay at private houses with acquaintances.

In addition to the HUF [Hungaian forint] 1 billion settlement fund endorsed by parliament, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees a few months ago offered support of USD [U.S. dollars] 3.2 million, the bulk of which has already been disbursed.

President Asked To Promulgate Budget Law

LD2212062792 Budapest MTI in English 0554 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 21 [date as received] (MTI)—Urgent discussion of some issues was agreed on by Parliament on Monday, including the government's redrafted report on Hungary's security policy. Speaker Gyorgy Szabad announced that, abiding by the constitution, he had asked the president of the republic to promulgate the law on the 1993 central budget this year. The budget was approved by Parliament last week.

Prime Minister's Office Rejects IPI Statement

LD2212065292 Budapest MTI in English 0619 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 21 [date as received] (MTI)—The Hungarian Government maintains its position that the International Press Institute (IPI) is expounding its views on the Hungarian media dispute in unison with the domestic propaganda rhetoric of some Hungarian politicians and journalists. The IPI statement dated today failed to give a genuine answer to the earlier Hungarian position, says the Prime Minister's Press Office in a statement forwarded to MTI on Monday evening. The original IPI statement, addressed to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, was signed by Director Peter Galliner.

"On behalf of his government, the prime minister gives voice to astonishment over the International Press Institute's portrayal of the financial, disciplinary, and police inquiry inside Hungarian television as an issue affecting freedoms of speech and the press... The disciplinary and police proceedings under way comply with all requirements of legal competence. The Hungarian Government will adopt its final position on the affair after the inquiry has come to an end.

"For this reason, the government rejects most resolutely the IPI statement dated today which challenges the activity of a legally elected, internationally recognised, and lawfully operating government without any knowledge of the outcome of the ongoing proceedings," the statement of the Prime Minister's Press Office says.

IPI Counters Government Claims

LD2212065592 Budapest MTI in English 0604 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] London/Brussels, December 21 [date as received] (MTI)—The International Press Institute (IPI) has denied the Hungarian Government's allegation that the Institute has been misinformed about problems in Hungarian broadcasting. The IPI issued a December 13

statement condemning the action taken by the Hungarian Government against Elemer Hankiss, president of Hungarian Television (HTV), Gabor Banyai, director of Channel 1, and Laszlo Nagy, HTV finance director. The Hungarian Government's suggestion that the Institute had been misled by certain journalists, politicians, or perhaps even some of the people involved in the matter, has brought a fresh statement from the IPI.

The government suspended the three from their posts because it discovered apparent irregularities in HTV's financial management. It launched disciplinary action against Hankiss, and initiated criminal proceedings against Banyai and Nagy.

In the statement sent to MTI on Monday, IPI recalls that it drew Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's attention earlier this year to its conviction that his government's attempts to dismiss both Hankiss and National Radio chief Csaba posed a serious threat to the new and hard-won democratic reforms.

As a result of IPI's latest intervention on December 13, the Prime Minister's Press Office issued what was described, in a letter to the director of the IPI, as an official statement of the Hungarian Government. The statement accuses the IPI of having been misled by "... certain journalists, politicians, or perhaps even the persons themselves involved in the matter," and asserts that the IPI statement is "completely identical with the propaganda rhetoric of those listed above."

The IPI rejects all these allegations and says, "the fact is that, by a recent decision of the Hungarian Government and parliament, the finances of National Radio and Television have been placed under the direct control of the prime minister's office. By this action, the government has gained control not only of the funding of the audio-visual media, but also effectively of their management and editorial policies and production."

In a statement titled "Hands Off Hungarian Television," the International Federation of Journalists (FIJ) has called for the abandonment of disciplinary charges against Hankiss.

The statement sent to MTI on Monday evening says, "The bringing of the disciplinary charges was politically motivated, and unacceptable in a democratic society." Recalling that Hankiss was originally appointed by a consensus of the six parliamentary parties, the FIJ calls for an end to the harassment of Hankiss, whom it described as "a champion of the independence of the television service from the political influence of the governing parties."

Probe Into Charges Against TV Chief Halted

LD2212062492 Budapest MTI in English 0548 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, December 21 (MTI)—The Budapest prosecutors office has stopped police investigation of fraud charges against Hungarian Television (HTV) Channel 1 Director Gabor Banyai.

However, investigation of HTV financial director Laszlo Nagy, on similar charges, is still underway, lawyer for the two HTV employees Peter Barandy said.

Meanwhile, the prosecutor has found as justified a complaint by Banyai and Nagy against a search of their apartments last week, as it failed to comply with regulations, Barandy said.

Investigations against Banyai and Nagy were launched following charges made last week by Justice Minister Istvan Balsai on behalf of the government.

Earlier, the government had suspended Tv President Elemer Hankiss from his post, alleging suspicion of financial malpractice.

Agreement With Slovenia, Croatia To Abolish Visas

LD2112182492 Warsaw PAP in English 1743 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, December 21—The Polish Government signed agreements with Governments of Slovenia and Croatia on abolishing visa requirements, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced on Monday [21 December].

Visas are not longer required for Poles who want to spend up to three months in Slovenia or in Croatia. Those however who want to go there for a period longer than three months must still apply for a visa. The same regulations concern citizens of Slovenia and Croatia.

Suchocka Greets Visegrad Group Free Trade Pact

AU2212111492 Warsaw PAP in English 1956 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Krakow, December 21—The ministers of foreign economic relations of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Republics signed in Krakow on Monday [21 December] an agreement setting up a free-trade zone between these states.

The Central European Free-Trade Agreement (CEFTA) will come into force on March 1.

Barriers such as tariffs and quotas on less processed products, which do not present direct competition to domestic production, have been partly removed. Textiles as well as steel and automotive products will enjoy the longest protection.

The agreement takes a special approach toward agriculture. Agricultural products will continue to be protected by regulations protecting the markets of the "Visegrad" countries against competition, but these countries will have the possibility to make their own, independent agricultural policy.

A declaration on starting talks on the possibilities to completely abolish tariffs in the period of up to five years was added to today's agreement.

Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, commenting on the free-trade pact, said that this first multilateral agreement in central Europe in the era of a market economy is a great success and is "closely observed by the EC states."

Premier Suchocka expressed the opinion that experience gained during the implementation of the free trade pact would be extremely important for the process leading to the full integration with the European Communities.

"Differences in opinions and views during the process of signing this agreement are normal and they show that this is really a matter of great significance," said the Polish prime minister.

The premier was referring to long talks held by experts earlier in the day on the text of a supplementary declaration concerning the removal of imports tariffs to be included in the agreement.

It was said unofficially that the argument concerned the date of the full liberalization of foreign exchange between the "Visegrad" states.

All four foreign ministers agreed during a joint press conference that the pact was a major step of the "Visegrad" countries along their road to full integration with the European Communities.

"The agreement is a good instrument in the pan-European integration which is our top priority," said Vladimir Dlouhy, minister of industry and trade of the Czech Republic.

Poland's minister for foreign economic relations, Andrzej Arendarski, said that "we may differ as to the evaluation of the pace of complete removal of tariffs, but we are destined to cooperate among each other in this part of Europe."

Hungarian minister for foreign economic cooperation Bela Kadar stressed that the agreement "is very important information for Europe and the entire world that our nations are capable of steering their own fate and that the stabilizing forces are current in this part of Europe. Economic cooperation among our countries will expand the market and improve conditions for foreign investors.

Ludovit Cernak, minister of economy of the Slovak Republic, stressed that today's agreement "is of special importance to the republic, it is the first multilateral agreement signed by Slovakia." The minister expressed satisfaction that in talks with the Czech side, negotiators were able to find a solution that is in tune with commitments stemming from the tariff union linking both the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Strike Group Urges Single Negotiating Body

WS2112134192 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0800 GMT 21 Dec 92

[From the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] The Interunion Strike Committee, which represents 26 plants, has suggested to the strike committees that a uniform representative body for all union centers be created to negotiate with the government. The committee members are indignant at the fact that the government is having talks with only one union participating in the protest. In their opinion, the talks should be held in Silesia, in one of the plants that is on strike. The deputy chairman of the country's Solidarity Mining Committee said that stopping the general miners stike would not be possible at the beginning of the negotiations with the government, but only after obtaining

concrete and satisfactory results from these negotiations. The talks between union members and the government will begin today.

Starting today, the workers of all Silesian steel works will hold a referendum to decide whether or not to join the strike.

[Begin correspondent Marek Omelan recording, identified via screen caption] Only security staff and protection services [sluzby zabezpieczajace] are working. The coal supplies outside of Upper Silesia are still blocked. The traffic of freight trains going from Silesia is still paralyzed. Because of the strike, 130 freight trains have been shunted. The railway workers are still keeping more than 20 trains in the area of Silesia, near the Czechoslovak border. Among them there are 27 carriages with a couple hundred cars imported to Poland as a part of the duty-free contingent. Today in the Makoszowy mine in Zabrze, a meeting was held between the representatives of the Interunion Strike Committee, set up on 17 December. The representatives discussed the strike situation and possible ways to continue the strike. The Interunion Strike Committee has been joined the Solidarity '80 of "Katowice" steel works, of the Katwice Polish State Railways, of the Clinical Hospital No. 5 in Katowice, and of zinc steel works in Miasteczko Slaskie. [end recording]

German Minority Deputy Talks to Press

PM1812210092 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 12-13 Dec 92 pp 1, 3

[Report by Miroslaw Olszewski: "Germans, Poles, and Their Phobias"]

[Text] The press conference held Thursday [10 Dec] at Warsaw's Interpress Center for Henryk Kroll, leader of the German minority parliamentary floor group, lasted a little over an hour. Journalists demonstrated such interest in what Kroll, who represents the Opole region in parliament, had to say that the organizers were forced to bring in several additional rows of seats, and the coffee which was served to the conference guests from thermos flasks disappeared in a matter of minutes. There were, in fact, four other deputies representing the German minority who attended the meeting alongside Henryk Kroll, but they actually sat among the reporters in the audience, whereas the leader of their parliamentary caucus answered reporters' questions alone from the dais.

Henryk Kroll opened the conference by admitting that there were matters on the German Minority Social and Cultural Society's [TSKMN] agenda that had not been treated with due seriousness and attention by the Society's activists in the past. Nonetheless, he stressed that it would be unjustified to conclude from this that members of the German minority were disloyal toward the state or that they deliberately ignored their citizens' duties. "Many of you treat us as if we have only just appeared on the scene to pose a threat to the Polish community," Kroll said. "You suggest that it is the Polish majority, which has reason to fear us. And no one seems to recognize the fact that we are actually a small minority and that as such we also have justifiable reason to be afraid of you. Unfortunately, events of the recent past confirm that we are quite right to be fearful."

Next, the Opole deputy gave a brief resume of the historic past, saying, among other things: "We have stayed on here, on our own native land, all those years. We live in our own Heimat. We did not choose to leave, as many other minorities did who subsequently settled in Russia. We stayed put where we belonged. It was our Fatherland that deserted us. We had to suffer the tragedy of the past twice over, as it were."

Henryk Kroll told the journalists, "at the moment, our organization comprises a number of officially registered social and cultural societies in several Silesian voivodships. In the Opole region alone, citizens of German extraction are in the majority in 26 out of 63 parishes; 16 local mayors and 380 councillors from our region are TSKMN members."

Before the first questions were asked from the floor, the deputy asked the journalists present at the conference to avoid referring to cases of individual local conflicts, which may have been spectacular, and which certainly received plenty of attention from the media, but which nonetheless represented only isolated instances. "The village of Dziewkowice is not the only place of human habitation in the Opole region. Why are you reluctant to look at other towns and villages? Things are going very well there at the grassroots level. You will also see that things are going very well indeed at the top political level if you take the trouble to look at our work in parliament. It only takes one isolated incident, and then....

How do you see yourself: as a Pole of German extraction or as a German who happens to hold Polish citizenship?" a German journalist enquired of Kroll in the first question of the evening.

"Your question was formulated in a rather ambiguous way. I could actually give you an affirmative reply to each of its parts. However, first we would have to define precisely what each term signifies. Let me give you an example: If a Pole in Lithuania was asked about his identity, he would answer that he was a Pole in Lithuania. And I would like to see similar treatment extended to us here in Silesia. Let us apply the same yardstick when we talk about Poles in Belarus and about our people here."

The German journalist persisted in following his line of questioning: "As a German in the Polish parliament, are you not facing a dilemma? To whom do you feel you owe your loyalty?"

Kroll answered: "Let us face this issue fair and square: I am a Polish citizen of German nationality. I believe this should serve as a sufficient answer to your question."

Referring to information obtained from the President's Press Office, a reporter representing AFP asked Deputy Kroll whether it was true that the German minority's organization was in breach of the law when it demanded that a plebiscite be called on the question of Silesia's territorial affiliation.

In reply, Henryk Kroll expressed the view that this type of serious accusation should be based on sound foundations, since otherwise it could be treated as common slander. "And as regards the question of bilingual place names, I am not aware of any such cases apart from the one instance in Dziewkowice, which I would describe as unfortunate." Furthermore, Deputy Kroll affirmed categorically that there were no grounds to the claim that the so-called "monuments affair" was "one great instance of lawlessness: I have evidence to prove that the committees set up to erect the relevant memorials applied for official permission and that they received such permission," he said. According to Deputy Kroll, the excitement that the matter attracted was largely caused by the fact that "the respective ranges of competence of different authorities involved in the case were imperfectly defined, which in turn resulted in chaos at the decisionmaking level. This, then, was blamed on the 'weakest culprits,' because incompetent officials preferred that to taking the blame themselves." The charge that the German minority is campaigning for a plebiscite was dismissed by Deputy Kroll as absurd because "all along we have insisted, are insisting now, and will continue to insist that our aim is to build a common European home. It would be clearly contrary to this objective to demand a separate autonomy for ourselves."

Asked to comment on Opole Voivoda's decision to extradite from Poland a member of the "Nationale Offensive" who had resided for several months in the village of Dziewkowice, Henryk Kroll replied as follows: "At long last! In any case, how could anyone have associated our organization with members of the neo-Nazi movement?! Who are we as members of the German minority? We are Polish citizens of German nationality. So the charge that we were involved is wrong on the first count already. Another aspect of the matter is this: How many of those neo-Nazis were there in Dziewkowice? Three, at one point! Well—that was some formidable menace, was it not?... Do we, then, have to be accountable for the fact that the German authorities let out neo-Nazis from their country and that the Polish authorities tolerated their stay here for so long?" Deputy Kroll asked rhetorically.

The next question came from a representative of Radio Free Europe. "You said a moment ago: 'How could anyone associated our organization with neo-Nazis?' Well, is it or is it not true that some of those neo-Nazis were made card-carrying members of the German Minority Social and Cultural Society? And another question: At none point, you mentioned faults and errors, which could be charged to both the Polish and the German sides. Well, could you tell us specifically what faults and errors were committed by the Polish side?"

[Kroll] "Let me tackle your first question first. True, we made a mistake in that single instance, but how were we to know that those gentlemen were members of the Nationale Offensive? It was not written on their foreheads! Another aspect of the mistake was that the gentleman in question was not a Polish citizen. However, I was told that he was most probably granted TSKMN membership on an honorary basis only. Ladies and gentlemen! We also offered our membership to Ms. Suessmuth. And she also signed the declaration form.... And as for your second question, it is true that instances of law-infringement can be attributed to both sides, but am I free to quote specific instances here? I am afraid I might be charged with attempting to enter the courts' range of competence and jurisdiction."

Nevertheless, Deputy Kroll then went on to recount the difficulties, which the TSKMN encountered when it attempted to change its statute and to alter its name. He stated that both proposals were approved by the appropriate court in Wroclaw, but that subsequently they were both methodically sabotaged by the courts in Opole. "How are we to interpret this?" Kroll asked.

The next question asked was: "Whom does the German minority fear in Poland?"

"We fear people who are prepared to provoke incidents similar to those which took place in Lubon, and which you, ladies and gentlemen, somehow failed to report," Deputy Kroll answered. He further disclosed that the chairman of one of TSKMN's local structures recently received a telephone call from a local police commanding officer who warned him to station guard patrols around a memorial in his village because, as he said, "two truck loads of skinheads" were heading in their direction.... "We are Polish citizens," Kroll said, "and we are also entitled to protection, are we not?" However, he refused to name either the village or the commanding police officer, saying: "Well, he might just send another contingent of skinheads in our direction if he is given to such moves... no, no, I am only joking."

Another question asked from the floor concerned the practice whereby "Polish citizens of German extraction evade military service." A journalist representing Polish Television enquired what measures Deputy Kroll was proposing to introduce through parliamentary action in order to reduce the number of such cases.

"Are there no Polish men who attempt to evade military service?" Henryk Kroll retorted. In his opinion, the roots of the problem were to be found elsewhere—namely, in a faulty draft system, which was, in turn, based on an official records system that has not registered instances of emigration. The lack of such records could even go back for many decades. Deputy Kroll illustrated his thesis with a statistical report of the number of emigres between 1970 and 1992. "Are we yet again going to be blamed for errors in official documents? Is it also our fault that 250,000 people emigrated in 1989, which was

the record year for emigration figures, whereas this year the records show only 15,000 emigration cases?"

The case of memorials [to Wehrmacht soldiers] was referred to again by correspondents Renate Marsch of DPA and a REUTER representative. In his reply to their questions, Deputy Kroll agreed with Renate Marsch that it would be better if Christian crosses were placed on the memorials rather than iron crosses, and that the inscriptions on such memorials should be translated into Polish wherever the local communities expressed such a wish. In addition, the plaques adorning the memorials should specifically commemorate world war victims rather than heroes. Deputy Kroll declared that, in order to avoid future "disquiet that could be felt by Polish people," a special commission would be set up to consider each individual memorial proposed for erection.

Deputy Henryk Kroll concluded the press conference with an appeal, directed to those correspondents that were still present in the hall, for help and assistance in all positive actions, which could benefit the entire community.

Senator on Danger of Neo-Nazi 'Infiltration'

PM1812145392 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 10 Dec 92 p 2

[Interview with Senator Dr. Dorota Simonides by correspondent Tomasz Szymborski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Szymborski] Several days ago, at a meeting with regional press correspondents, Lech Walesa stressed the danger of renewed hostility between Poland and Germany, and the threat that nationalist feelings could be revived again. How did you interpret that statement?

[Simonides] I believe that the meaning of Walesa's words was not quite clear to people who do not live in Silesia. Not clear because they will be asking themselves the question: What can have suddenly happened out there to provoke such a blunt warning? In my opinion, it would probably have been better to stress firmly that we demanded loyalty from representatives of the German minority since they are, after all, Polish citizens. We accept the German minority, but we should most resolutely draw the line at the import of neo-Nazi groups, which we have recently noted in the Opole region. In such cases we must say a definitive "no!" to them. The minority is simply being subjected to infiltration by neo-Nazi movements from Germany. The danger here lies in the possibility that the slogans they disseminate might fall on fertile soil.

[Szymborski] What was the justification behind Walesa's statement?

[Simonides] I want to stress with all seriousness that the president may well have documents that we know nothing about, but which provide justifiable reasons for his declaration.

[Szymborski] Do you perceive a real threat from the German minority?

[Simonides] I perceive the need for a dialogue with the minority. Our only chance is in peaceful coexistence. The German minority groups should distance themselves from the actions of the neo-Nazi movement—and it must be pointed out that that is what some of them have done. Our cooperation with the group of parliamentarians representing the German minority is going very well indeed. It would be going much less smoothly if those parliamentarians were to associate themselves with the views of the group led by Mr. Bryka, who stands at the head of the Central German Council in Poland. If it were so, then I would have a most pessimistic view of the future.

[Szymborski] Senator, what is your opinion on the large numbers of monuments to the memory of fallen Wehrmacht soldiers that are being erected all over Silesia now?

[Simonides] I recognize the fact that the families of the fallen soldiers will always view their late brothers and sons as heroes. Nevertheless, the appropriate places for remembering them are cemeteries. A monument with German inscriptions erected in the middle of a city or village can be read as a provocation. If the inscriptions were in both Polish and German, and if they were dedicated to the memory of all the fallen soldiers, then the monuments would provide elements of integration rather than disintegration.

[Szymborski] So who could be interested in artificially highlighting and magnifying the problem of the German minority?

[Simonides] I am convinced that the recent events in Silesia are carefully preplanned and stage-managed. Perhaps the initiative comes from our native chauvinists, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the campaign is directed by German nationalist elements.

KPN Wants Government Members To Face State Tribunal

AU1812144692 Warsaw PAP in English 1910 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, December 17—Deputy Krzysztof Krol, from the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) parliamentary caucus, on Thursday [17 Dec] reported that the caucus had filed a motion to the Sejm Presidium on bringing six former government members to constitutional and penal accountability before the Tribunal of State.

The KPN motion embraced former prime minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, deputy prime minister and finance minister Leszek Balcerowicz, industry minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk, privatization minister Waldemar Kuczynski, trade and industry minister Henryka Bochniarz and

current privatization minister Janusz Lewandowski, who also performed this function in Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's cabinet.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki is charged with dwindling budget discipline through failing to accumulate budget revenues planned for 1991, while Leszek Balcerowicz is accused of exempting newly created companies from income tax and the creating special means from the budget revenues without required legal grounds.

According to the KPN, mismanagement and unfortunate decisions by Tadeusz Syryjczyk brought in effect an almost 1.5-billion-zloty (about $100,000) decrease in state incomes, while Henryka Bochniarz caused budget losses amounting to 40 billion zlotys by failing to deduct current budget revenues.

In the caucus' opinion, a series of agreements concluded by Waldemar Kuczynski failed to protect the interests of the State Treasury, while Janusz Lewandowski does not guarantee an efficient protection of the State Treasury in the privatization process.

PSL Says Poland in 'New Stage of Social Crisis'

AU2212111792 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, December 21—The Main Council of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) said at a meeting Monday [21 December] that "Poland has entered a new stage of the social crisis."

A resolution by the PSL Main Council said that the results of the strike that has paralyzed Poland's most highly industrialized region would be felt by the entire economy and that (strike) escalation might lead to national tragedy. The resolution stressed also that tension was growing in the countryside caused by the "tragic situation in agriculture."

According to the PSL Main Council, these are the results of pursuing an economic policy that dogmatically adheres to the course mapped out three years ago.

The PSL Council opined that "the government camp is losing its ability to rule in line with the expectations and needs of the people" and that the latest events in the Sejm show that "the government stands ever smaller chances to implement its plans."

In this situation, the PSL Main Council obligated the PSL Main Executive Committee to "seek political solutions to the existing situation." The PSL is offering society its own programme "rejecting both an absolutization of the state's function and of the free market. The programme is based on solutions tested worldwide and embodied in the concept of the third road," the resolution stressed.

The PSL Main Council called on "all political forces sensing a threat to Poland to hold political dialogue that would result in a new strategy for Poland."

The PSL Council also obligated the PSL parliamentary floor group to examine the possibility to table a motion to hold a nationwide referendum on privatization and reprivatization.

PSL chairman Waldemar Pawlak said that the PSL programme was open to creating opportunities for the majority of society, primarily for people working in small businesses and farms.

Suchochka Views 1993 Budget, Other Issues

PM2212104592 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 15 Dec 92 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka by correspondent Alicja Ogieglo; place and date not given]

[Text] [Ogieglo] Madame Prime Minister, you give the impression that as a politician you know exactly what you want. But Do you know what the general public expects of you?

[Suchocka] It is clear and obvious enough to all, including myself, that everybody in our country wants to live well and comfortably. I am very well aware of the colossal burden of responsibility that rests on me and on the whole government; responsibility for meeting these expectations. The government's main objective is to make the life of all Poles more worthwhile and dignified. Unfortunately, the circumstances in which we operate seem to be totally unpropitious.

[Ogieglo] Exactly. As a politician, are you pleased with the government's proposed 1993 budget? And as a citizen, do you agree with your official opinion, or do you have a different view?

[Suchocka] Let me say this frankly: Hardly anyone can be pleased with the proposed 1993 budget, neither myself as a politician, nor myself as a rank-and-file citizen. However, the realities are as they are and we have to live with them, even if we do not like the budget much. What else can we do? Shall we print more zloty banknotes and within six months come full circle back to the situation from which we attempted—with great difficulty—to emerge for the past two years? Or else we can consent to this imperfect budget and endeavor to live with it somehow—admittedly amid great pain and hardship, but in harmony with economic realities. Perhaps we should also take into account the expectation that by the middle of next year the situation should change for the better and that we will obtain additional financial resources from outside. Then our economic situation will definitely become easier. We are trying to secure such financial help, but for the time being we must work on the assumption that we do not have it yet and that we must expect to experience hardship.

[Ogieglo] Coalition members are arguing among themselves over the priorities, which the Sejm should establish in their debates: the budget bill or the antiabortion bill. Those in favor of the latter justify it by saying that in

that way they would be offering you support. Is this the sort of assistance that you expect?

[Suchocka] The government coalition is made up of parties that represent different ideological and philosophical options. Therefore they debate among themselves on a whole series of issues. This is natural. On the other hand, as a government we were formally obliged by the Constitution and other legal acts to prepare the budget proposal and submit it to the Sejm, and that is what we did. This is our primary task. Another thing altogether is what the coalition can negotiate in the course of parliamentary work. We will wait and see what the effect of this work will be.

[Ogieglo] All public opinion survey studies indicate that, as prime minister, you enjoy considerable credibility with the population. None of your predecessors had such good future forecasts, either. What do you need most today to be able to realize your political program, which you presented during your Sejm address?

[Suchocka] I could say that, along with the rest of the Polish population, I need money most of all. After all, we know that no economic or social programs can be realized without financial resources. Public support is another requirement, which is at least equally, if not more, important to me today. I would call it a public license allowing me to launch our society on a difficult and largely uncharted new road. If we do not obtain this, if society and government keep going along their separate roads, then we will have to face great difficulties. We launch different initiatives, which are sometimes accepted, sometimes criticized, and sometimes debated. It is precisely this ongoing dialogue with society, which I regard as most important. We really want to negotiate a social contract and demonstrate to the general public that all other roads lead nowhere. We must tell ourselves and our society the truth about what we can do and what is absolutely impossible. We are not interested in obtaining full unanimity, for all-around public acceptance is impossible anyway, but we want to secure from the public a license to carry out certain drastic moves. We do not try to hide the fact that they will have to be drastic; in any case, the budget has spelled this out already, and everybody knows it by now.

[Ogieglo] There are still certain difficulties in reaching an agreement on the "State Enterprises Pact." Do you entertain hopes that an agreement will be reached?

[Suchocka] I do indeed. The conditions posed by the Solidarity National Commission are achievable, and the government agrees to accept them. Consequently, I hope that the agreement will be signed quite soon, which will be to the advantage of both sides, and by the same token to the advantage of society as a whole.

November Fall in Industrial Output Reported

AU1812141692 Warsaw PAP in English 1848 GMT 17 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, December 17—Industrial production fell in November by 3.6 percent compared with October. Productivity in building-construction enterprises also fell, announced the deputy head of the Main Statistical Office (GUS), Roman Sawinski, on Thursday [17 Dec].

The November decrease in production was noted in all branches of industry, however, the largest was registered in resource extraction 11 percent and light industry 12 percent in comparison to October. The decreases in the fuel-energy industry 0.1 percent and lumber and paper products 0.2 percent were minimal.

When the figures are compared to those of November 1991, it becomes apparent that industrial production has dropped by 12.9 percent over all this year, while the processing industry has grown by 14 percent. Resource extraction increased by 2.6 percent.

Sawinski also announced that the end of November saw unemployment in enterprises remain at a stable 13.5 percent. Some 2,490 thousand persons were registered as unemployed in November, an increase of 0.5 percent. Last month 136,000 registered as unemployed in regional employment centres, while 123,000 were dropped from the files, with over 65,000 of them having found employment via the centres.

Over 780,000 persons had no right to any social welfare benefits in November. This accounts for 31.4 percent of all registered unemployed. In December, an additional 600,000 persons are to lose their right to unemployment benefits. At the beginning of 1993 this group will constitute 50 percent of all unemployed, said Sawinski.

He also noted that the number of job offers systematically decreased in November, only 37,000 compared to October's 47,000 and September's 51,000.

In terms of wages, Sawinski said that November was the third consecutive month of significant pay hikes in enterprises.

According to GUS, the average monthly net salary in November was 2,930,000 zlotys and was 6.6-percent higher than in October. The real value of wages was, however, 4.6-percent lower than a year ago.

Melescanu Views Ties With U.S., Moscow

AU2212091692 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 16 Dec 92 p 3

["Part Three" of interview with Foreign Minister Theodor Melescanu by Radu Bogdan; place and date not given: "If the Americans Are Interested in Us, They Will Come Very Soon and in Large Numbers"—second part not observed to have been published]

[Text] [Melescanu] I think that you are lying; I think that you are ... I do not know how... During the discussions at the WEU, when such problems were raised, I asked for full and tangible information. What? Who? When? If the FRY embargo is violated, the Romanian Government—through all the positions taken—has proved that it is ready to call to account those guilty and to take any kind of measures. In other words, I agree to examine any tangible complaint about a violation of the embargo. However, I cannot understand such science-fiction stories like the one about an underground road under garages or a gas pipe under the Danube River, just as I cannot heed statements of a general nature, such as "Romania is not observing the embargo." I want to repeat: To be able to act—and the government wants to take action—we need concrete things. Certainly, I cannot not rule out that an individual or a private company wants to make some profit, including by illegal means. However, what is fundamental is the fact that the Romanian Government takes a clear position against such practices and favors the observance of the embargo, and the government disposition envisages sanctions. Any concrete problem is treated accordingly. Moreover, I want to tell you that, in fact, these metaphysical doubts, which I have expressed to some deputies, whose good intentions I, unfortunately, doubt, are by no means supported by the reports of the official missions who came to Romania and are staying here.

[Bogdan] What role do relations with the United States of America play in Romania's foreign policy?

[Melescanu] Romania's relations with the United States are experiencing a favorable period. They had reached such a low level that now they can only improve. What is sure is that at this point it is difficult for me to make any forecast in this respect. Why? Not because of ourselves. You are familiar with Romania's position. In his speech during the oath-taking ceremony, President Ion Iliescu said that relations with the United States are of the first priority. I want to tell you that I have passed on this message through all the channels that are open to us. However, at this point the United States is in a transition period and the new administration is formulating its positions. Thus, we are, if you will, in a different period. However, I cannot refrain from mentioning that the congratulatory cables sent by acting President George Bush to President Iliescu and Mr. Vacaroiu are extremely warm, and we think that this demonstrates that at least at the level of the administration there is an obvious improvement in bilateral relations with Romania. What remains is the problem of the U.S. Congress and of our ties with the new administration, which means a new team and maybe even new ideas regarding this zone. However, let me return to your first question. Do not forget—I have tried to demonstrate this—Romania is going to become an extremely important country. The Americans are pragmatic people. They do not maintain positive relations with Romania only because they like me or they like you, TINERETUL LIBER newspaper, or NINE O'CLOCK. If the Americans are interested in Romania, they will come very soon and in large numbers. As I said at the beginning, we hope that this will become ever more clear and will reflect at the level of political and economic relations.

[Bogdan] What influence could the unrest in Moscow exert on relations with our country?

[Melescanu] Even if there are no dramatic changes of people in Moscow, there is a certain development we follow. Regardless of what happens, I assure you that we have to take care of these relations, because they are important relations. However, it goes without saying that should there be a shift toward rigid conservative and imperial positions, this would have a negative effect on relations with Romania for very many reasons, the first being Moldova and especially the Dniester region. By the same token, the consolidation and stabilization of the democratic tendencies and forces in Russia will exert a positive and beneficial influence. We are ready to work together with those forces and to support them as much as we can.

[Bogdan] Mr. Minister, you know that the way numerous Western officials see Romania can be summarized as follows: The communists continue to be in power. There are still open questions about what happened in December 1989. We are very concerned about the fact that force was resorted to in several instances. We have followed the latest elections with great interest, and we think that this was a positive test. What is essential is that Romania renounces the legacy of the past. What do you think can be done to improve our country's image abroad?

[Melescanu] First, I think that it is quite normal that there is a certain inertia in perceiving certain changes that have occurred in Romania. If you study them carefully, the arguments presented referred to things that happened three years ago. Thus the problem we face is that all the time our image is lagging behind two to three years. We are now suffering because of the fact that Romania's image of today is formed on the basis of things that occurred two years ago, on the basis of the events in Tirgu Mures, the miners' incursion, and things that are brought to light now. The first problem is this inertia in changing our image. Finally, the second problem is linked to certain preconceived ideas that exist and are very, very difficult to overcome because there is a fundamental difference. Communism was eliminated in Romania; to eliminate communists is much more difficult, because it would mean shooting a lot of people.

The communists will be "eliminated" with the passing of time because all those, all of us who have been Communist Party members, will continue to bear this burden until our disappearance as individuals. I want to draw your attention to the fact that there were very few people in Romania—relatively few in the active realm of society—who did not bear this label that represented an access permit rather than a firm ideological stance on our part. All of us know how communism proceeded in Romania because all of us have experienced this period. Thus, here is what we have to do, if you ask me what we can do. I want to say that our main concern is to better group, coordinate, and monitor the problems linked to our image because Romania's image abroad is not forged by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In fact, all of us contribute to this image beginning with the Romanian "tourist" who relieves himself on public lawns, who eats swans, who robs people or begs in subways and up to the parliamentarian or politician who wants to sound interesting by saying various things to other colleagues abroad. We are the ones who shape Romania's image by having contact with very many people, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has just a little share in this. However, what can it do? It can better coordinate its efforts with other institutions such as Cultural Foundation of Romania, the government department for Romania's image abroad, and the other ministries, which are participating in numerous international activities; we can try to convey a coherent image. The most serious thing for our image is that we convey contradictory and incoherent signals at the international level, and we have to solve this problem as soon as we can.

[Bogdan] Do you think that the future press law will contribute to improving Romania's image?

[Melescanu] This is difficult for me to say because I am not a specialist. I think that this is a problem that should be solved primarily by you, those who work in this area. You have to arrive at a common conclusion. If you think that it will help, it is very good to proceed in this way and to also persuade the other colleagues of whether it is good or not.

Parliament Commemorates Revolution Anniversary

AU2112155992

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network at 1242 GMT on 21 December carries an 86-minute live relay from Parliament Hall in Bucharest of a joint session of the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate to commemorate the third anniversary of the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime in December 1989. Reception is good.

Present are "President Ion Iliescu, Senate President Oliviu Gherman, Deputies Assembly President Adrian Nastase, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, ministers, government members, party leaders, Virgil Magureanu, director of the Romanian Intelligence Service, diplomats," and others.

Senate President Gherman opens the session and invites Iliescu to take the floor.

After Iliescu finishes speaking, former prime minister Petre Roman, deputy of the National Salvation Front, speaks about democracy, reconciliation, and national cohesion. He stresses that national unity is needed for the transition period and emphasizes the "constructive" role played by the opposition in Romania.

After a 12-minute speech by Deputy Valeriu Tabara of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] parliamentary group, in which he stresses Romania's "great merit in stopping the spreading of communism toward Central Europe," Senate President Gherman asks whether two further unscheduled speakers may take the floor. In a vote, 155 participants vote against and there are 32 abstentions.

Gherman says that, since the majority had voted against having more speakers, the session has ended. Loud protests can be heard in the hall. The announcer says the "representatives of several associations who had been invited to attend the session, some 10-15 people," left the hall, asking the "opposition parliamentary groups to withdraw from the session in protest against the presence of the Greater Romania Party and the Socialist Party of Labor. However, this did not happen."

Iliescu's Address

AU2112184592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1250 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu at joint solemn parliament session devoted to third anniversary of the December 1989 revolution—live]

[Text] Mr. Senate President, Mr. Speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, honored members of parliament, ladies and gentlemen:

We are celebrating these days the third anniversary of the Romanian revolution. For Romania, the December 1989 revolution is a true cornerstone at this turn of the century. But first, allow me to recall to you the whole tragic dimension of the Romanian revolution. It is our duty to honor the memory of the heroes that fell in the days and nights of that bloody December in 1989 and reiterate the trust in the ideals and values that inspired us and united our efforts at that time. We are here to pay homage, together with the entire country, to the dignity and courage of those who fell for the sake of freedom. The following names will go down for ever in history: Timisoara, the first flashpoint of the revolution, the hero-city, which gave the starting signal for the mass uprising against dictatorship and then resisted the repression unleashed upon it with heroism and sacrifice; Bucharest, the vital center, in which the victory of the revolution was decided; Brasov, Cluj, Arad, Sibiu, Iasi, Braila, and other cities, where the wave of revolution decisively tilted the balance in favor of change, democracy, and national dignity.

Ladies and gentlemen, the three years since the revolution is a condensed span of time, which we measure through the scope of the changes that have marked our lives. We escaped the molds of an anachronistic world and entered into another historical cycle. It was a difficult genesis, but today we know that we have irreversibly embarked upon the road of change and that there is no going back on that.

We have undergone an accelerated process of structural changes, which was not without tension, political convulsions, confusions, and errors. On several occasions in the first half of 1990, we found ourselves in extreme situations, when the power vacuum and exacerbated confrontations might have pushed us into an absurd civil war, thus risking even the unity and integrity of the Romanian state. Today we can judge the seriousness of the tensions we have been through by thinking not only of the internal situation, but also of the unsteady regional situation, with all the hotbeds of conflict springing up around us. However, what is important is that we have managed gradually to overcome this climate of violent confrontation and preserve domestic stability and the country's balance.

We have broken away, irrevocably and structurally, from the communist totalitarian system. We have built a society with democratic structures and new institutions, on which were conferred legitimacy through free elections; this society is currently moving along the road of substantial economic reforms.

The mass character of the revolt against dictatorship and the communist totalitarian system, as well as the structural changes that have taken place in the past three years, clearly prove that the Romanian people carried out a real revolution in December 1989, since they changed a whole society, not just the component parts of the power. The ensuing shifts had an impact on the content of the social system, not only on the way in which power is exerted. The popular forces that carried out the revolution did not want merely to replace certain political figures, nor did they want to turn back the wheel of history toward outdated phases; they wanted to establish a truly democratic society, with the features and values of contemporary European civilization, which offer equal chances to all segments of the population.

Europe's history is marked by the fact that the democratic and anticommunist revolutions of 1989 reached their fiery peak with the Romanian events. I would like to emphasize the fundamental significance of this aspect. We are celebrating an event that has changed Romania's destiny, against the background of a process of extraordinary scope, spreading from the Berlin Wall to the eastern boundaries of Europe.

In December 1989, Romanian society had reached a state of general impasse, without any foreseeable political solutions for change. In such an exceptional set of circumstances, the nation's active forces—young and old, intellectuals and workers—frontally rose against the dictatorship. Through an authentically popular mass revolutionary movement, which was both explosive and radical, they managed to eliminate the communist regime and open up the road to transformations of the basic foundations of our society. These are the essential terms in which, I believe, one should approach those events, so as to understand the truly revolutionary scope of the December 1989 events.

Similarly, I would like to reiterate the role played by the National Salvation Front Council [CFSN], a revolutionary body spontaneously set up, without any preliminary preparations and organization, consisting of personalities with different political options, intentions, and interests. At that time, the CFSN represented a national consensus on the need to overthrow the dictatorship and start a process of democratic reforms. The CFSN was representative then of the people's antidictatorial movement and conferred a degree of coherence and continuity on the revolution.

Today, one can say that the basic targets of the program-declaration, which I presented to the country on the evening of 22 December [1989], have been on the whole fulfilled. Of course, the practical consequences have not always been up to the expectations and hopes of those days. However, this seems to be a more widespread phenomenon in the transition process in Central and East European countries. No matter how different the interpretations, how biased the viewpoints, and how much ado has been made about unclear situations and insufficiently clarified moments, I believe that there is no reason to doubt the fact that a revolution was started in December 1989.

A revolution may either be or not be, and it may take place or not; anyway, one thing is for sure, namely that it cannot be either confiscated or stolen. However, it can be interpreted—with or without justification—and examined from various angles. The diversity of the attempts to reconstruct those events is natural and understandable up to a point. Nevertheless, only to the extent that these attempts do not distort reality and do not carry out of proportion certain unessential or sensationalist aspects. Unfortunately, even today, three years after the events, many interpretations are still springing up—some of which I would call quite fanciful—with events being fabricated that never occurred and even doubts being cast on the very idea of revolution and its national character. As I have said on other occasions, there is no doubt that the authorized state bodies should complete the necessary inquiries and investigations to elucidate all the facts, establish the role played by various factors, and hold accountable all those guilty of crimes. In this activity, those state bodies can and should be helped by all governmental and nongovernmental agencies, primarily by those who directly participated in the events.

Honored audience, today's anniversary moment obliges us to take a lucid glance at the postrevolutionary course of Romanian society. All of us are aware of the fact that

we are going through a difficult period of crisis, that we have failed to make efficient use of the freedoms gained, and that we have not always found the best solutions for the problems facing us. Nevertheless, I believe that with the return to normality, we will increasingly show proof of greater realism and an ability to utilize our own domestic resources, so as to adjust ourselves—while on the move—to a world in continuous change, by efficiently organizing the national effort on the economic plane and achieving true reconciliation on political and moral planes.

A specific difficulty of our transition derives from the explosive and radical nature of the revolution. The transition from the revolutionary climate of December 1989 to an evolutionary and gradual movement of structural changes brought great difficulties in our country. The uniqueness of the Romanian revolution in the East European context derives from this zig-zag course, which we have covered from revolution to evolution, from revolution to reform, and from a categorical break with the communist system to a process of gradual change. The practical difficulties of the transition have often been underestimated, and the fact ignored that the new world must be built step by step, through work and effort, through competition, and through individual initiative and managerial efficiency.

In this atmosphere, people have had difficulty realizing and accepting that the logic of economic reform is different from that of political revolution and that changing the foundations of a society cannot have the spectacular dynamics of political change. This confusion has led to tensions and convulsions which might have been avoided through a coherent drafting of the component parts of the reform, through better information, through a consistent and timely structuring of political life, through a rejection of adventurist projects in the economy, and through better knowledge of the sustenance thresholds of social costs. Today, having learned several lessons of the tough school of transition, we can say that no efficient change can be made unless we set out from our prevailing realities and available potential.

The economic situation continues to be very difficult. People are faced with many hardships, owing to price increases, rises in the overall cost of living, the shortage of basic products, and the precarious state of services. The various categories of wage-earners and disadvantaged groups—young people, pensioners, and women—profited only to a small extent from the results of reform. Unfortunately, production continues to decrease, while unemployment and inflation are on the increase. The social environment is seriously affected by the expansion of corruption, law infringements, and violence. Vital spheres of society, such as health, culture, education, and scientific research have reached a desolate state. One of the most acute signs, toward which we cannot stay indifferent, is the worrying decrease in the population.

Generally speaking, spontaneous and chaotic phenomena abound, something which has created a state of uncertainty among the population. The people expect from the reform an improvement in their daily living standards and concrete hopes. Vague promises and projects cannot replace realities. The social costs of the transition have reached a critical threshold. Politicians must take note of this situation and react accordingly.

In the last instance, regardless of the political force in power, the main goal must be to implement the economic reform. The important thing is that the reform should be efficient: It must redimension and relaunch the country's productive potential, utilize its human and intellectual potential, and improve the nation's overall situation. The future of the East European transition are being decided now in the sphere of economic reform. Here we must display realism, rational organization, an ability to adjust, and an openness toward dialogue and confrontation of ideas.

Faced with these requirements, which we cannot abandon, I invite you to judge the reform program primarily through its practical effects, not through a theoretical scenario or political motivations exclusively. I invite you to plant your roots in the real life of actual facts, so as to be able to distinguish responsibly between the good and the erroneous parts of the strategies applied so far. I believe that excessive politicization in the implementation of the reform has cost us dearly.

Previous governmental teams failed to introduce the necessary and appropriate corrections in time, given the negative collateral results of the reform actions. Governmental control over public sector administration has been almost nonexistent. Technological, financial, and administrative discipline has simply disappeared in some enterprises. In the name of autonomy for economic units, certain managerial groups have led a number of public and trade companies of key importance to our national economic network to bankruptcy.

Another error lies in underestimating the practical application of the reform. People thought that a potentially reforming law, once adopted, will naturally lead to positive effects. What occurred in agriculture, where huge values and assets were destroyed and agricultural production registered losses felt by everybody, is proof of the existence of certain shortcomings in the Land Law and great deficiencies in its implementation. Agriculture in general and the producers did not enjoy sufficient support from the state. The initial legislative framework has not been completed with other absolutely necessary measures to stimulate production in the new market relationships.

These shortcomings, which we find in other spheres, too, prove that any reforming action, to be truly efficient, must be steadily sustained, from the legislative stage down to its implementation in the real world at the microeconomic level, in the real economic sphere, where the fate of the reform is effectively decided. Therefore, we should find the operational mechanism through which we can translate the generous principles of the

change into actions on the basic structures of the economy and society. The new legislation, which is also incomplete, has not managed to put discipline into the phenomena of the real economy, while the administrative mechanisms have not always succeeded in mastering the spontaneous and anarchic processes, which were obviously destructive and hard to control.

The social consequences are known to you all. Behind the facade of reform, a corrupt economy has also flourished, with countless ramifications and negative effects. Therefore, our task is to put order into economic life. The reform programs must be adjusted for each sector, by avoiding shocks and measures with explosive potential. Pragmatism should become a general attitude, so as not to compromise the reform through adventurist measures, at a time when we are speaking ardently in its favor. We must avoid rhetorical or contrived solutions, which ignore the consequences on people's lives and regard society as a testing laboratory.

We reached a point when we became aware of the fact that we must rely primarily on our own efforts, on the efficient organization of the nationwide labor effort, and on Romanian society's ability to reform itself organically, thus stimulating those productive factors and the units financed by autochthonous capital, which can utilize domestic resources. The time has come to give some serious thought to the most adequate measures to protect national production and services against world market competition, which even Romania has to face. In this respect, the privatization process—which as a matter of fact, is a decisive factor—will have to acquire a well-defined economic meaning by supporting those forms of privatization that primarily stimulate productive capital and investment. The criterion of reform is not the pace of privatization, but rather the economic efficiency of this process.

Similarly, we should all realize that social protection does not depend on the generosity of governments, but rather on the efficiency of the macroeconomic and microeconomic administration and on the rational and productive nature of our work. We cannot overcome the current crisis without relaunching our national production. We should start from this prerequisite when mapping out our future strategies. To proceed as we have until now, namely to wait until the market, with its invisible hand, spontaneously regulates the economic processes at some time in the future, means fatalistically accepting the deterioration in living conditions of the citizens, and, in the last instance, jeopardizing our national security.

The conclusion is that the state, that is the government, must coordinate the reform processes and ensure the efficient administration of the public patrimony. It is absolutely natural to reconsider the role of the state in this period of transition, when it is still the main owner of the productive units. As I have said on previous occasions, this does not mean a return to the old command practices, but rather a flexible and regulating involvement on the part of the state in order that the economic units observe the new legislation, that their performance is stimulated, and they are helped to adjust to the dynamic and competitive environment of the market economy, a practice that actually occurs in all civilized countries in the world.

As a matter of fact, we note a change in the general concept of East European reform. Two years ago, an exaggerated trust was put in forced therapies and currency theories. Right now, one can see that greater emphasis is being placed on nuances when it comes to assessments and solutions. Even the perception of Western experts has evolved toward more realistic and moderate positions.

In order to halt the alarming phenomenon of corruption, which I also tackled in my message to parliament during my investiture as president, the public institutions should become more active and reimpose their authority. The control, public order, and justice bodies should show greater exactitude and promptness. Attempts to minimize the scope and effect of corruption and all kinds of violations are harmful and dangerous. We may not compromise our democratic system through an excessive tolerance toward profiteering and illicit practices and toward attempts to eschew the extant economic legislation and take advantage of the poor control of institutions. There is a need for general solidarity in the name of this priority objective, which is designed to ensure good coexistence among people and protect society from a series of practices that risk turning into a true plague.

In December 1989, we started on the road of historical change, which we are dutybound to fulfill in all its dimensions. The government, the political forces represented in parliament, the trade unions, and the specialized institutions can and must work out together a rigorous program for continuing and adjusting the economic reform, as well as a strategy for restructuring the national economy. I am not referring to a party program, that is the program of a given party, but rather to a national program, which can assimilate and balance out proposals and solutions to promote economic growth and to revive and improve all the components of Romanian society. This is a vital problem on which a consensus can be reached.

Looking back, I note that we failed to attach adequate importance to certain basic sectors and institutions, such as education, culture, scientific research, health care, and the situation of the young generation. Young people and children have only sporadically and inconsistently benefited from measures especially meant for them. The precarious material situation of certain categories of young people, their moral confusion and marginalization, and particularly youth unemployment are phenomena that require systematic programs from the government, the politicians, and nongovernmental and youth organizations. We must identify an entire range of

economic, financial, institutional, and moral possibilities so as to offer young people a chance authentically to assert themselves here, in their own country, so that they do not choose a path of exile, as some of them have done. There is a need for working out and practically implementing a true nationwide policy on youth and their integration in society.

It is with regret that we take note of the fact that the sphere of culture and scientific creation faces serious material hardships and that its institutional reorganization has so far failed to capitalize on the scientific and intellectual potential available to us. Similarly, the research institutes and the various institutions of cultural creation and dissemination are being insufficiently supported from a financial point of view. I am an advocate of the idea that the state must support authentic cultural activity out of its own resources, since we are dealing here with a long-term investment, with direct implications for the destiny of Romanian intellectual creativity. In many spheres, intellectual energies are being wasted, with top class experts having to look for jobs elsewhere. This drama should be remedied, through an reasonable attitude from society and the government.

There is no doubt that the democratization process is having a positive impact on such sensitive aspects as relations among ethnic and religious groups. We want to build a society of good coexistence and harmony among all the country's citizens. Romania's stability depends directly on the nature of these relations. Therefore, we are dutybound to ensure the steady observance of the constitutional rights of all citizens, including those of ethnic minorities. We have spoken out resolutely against any forms of discrimination, from wherever they may come. We want to build a civic society of balance and tolerance and we will never accept manifestations of xenophobia, chauvinism, and anti-Semitism, which offend the dignity of the Romanian people. At the same time, it is only natural to give a firm riposte—with rational, not passionate arguments, with confidence and sobriety—to anti-Romanian attitudes, which come from diverse sources and distort Romania's current and historical realities. We must not endanger Romania's stability through unwise acts or irresponsible statements. As I have said before, attitudes that promote the idea of special rights and even privileges on ethnic grounds or that put forward drafts for regional ethnic autonomies in the unitary space of the Romanian state are unacceptable and have no real justification from a political, moral, or legal point of view. Such claims are at variance with Romania's Constitution and extant European and international accords and they generate and maintain dangerous tensions for the country's security.

In view of the revival of manifestations and attitudes of xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and neo-fascism on a broader, European plane, we should take precautionary measures to discourage such phenomena and stop their expansion in Romania. I am categorically opposed to attempts to rehabilitate, legitimize, and reanimate the Iron Guard in Romania. Democracy and its institutions should never be used as a shield for the activities of certain extremist circles and forces, which might endanger even the democracy we are building with so much effort. I am convinced that, with the reforms marking further deeper inroads, society will regain its balance and all the country's citizens will enjoy the fruits of change, freedom, and democracy. It is right to promote a good balance in everything, without forcing the pace of change beyond our possibilities.

Esteemed members of the legislative bodies, ladies and gentlemen,

The revolutionary processes in East Europe and their consequences have led to a basic restructuring of the geopolitical configuration of the current world. The conclusion of the cold war and the disappearance of the East-West political and military divisions and of the old bipolar system—with the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, the CEMA, and subsequently the Soviet Union—have substantially changed the balance of power at a global level, and particularly at an European level.

Interethnic conflicts, interstate rivalries, fratricidal wars, and other conflicts have broken out in an East Europe ravaged by the shock wave of change. Unfortunately, all these conflicts tend to acquire a permanent character. The current perception is that Central and East Europe is a region of disorder and instability, with hotbeds of conflict and also a high risk coefficient for neighboring areas.

Romania, alongside several other states, has managed to maintain its stability even in this cyclone of disintegration and to carry through convincing internal changes at political and economic level. Now, after the internal political tensions have somewhat died down and the reforming course is being consolidated, we are becoming aware of the importance of the relative stability, which we have maintained and the risks we have avoided by rejecting extremist attitudes and adventurist commitments.

Today political circles have begun to view Romania from a different angle; they appreciate its economic and geopolitical importance in East Europe, as well as the significance of its balanced position in this atmosphere of instability. Gradually the manner of assessment is changing and a long-term shift is taking place that concerns us directly and that redefines Romania's place in Europe.

We are living in a world of global and regional interdependence which is more active than ever before. Thus, neither economic transition nor the protection of the country's unity and independence can be achieved except on the basis of our complete integration into pan-European economic and security bodies.

Decisive steps have been taken toward Romania's integration into the NATO structures of partnership, into the WEU, and into the CSCE mechanisms, and the

recently concluded accord on our country's association with the EEC and EFTA proves the success of this process.

We are aware that without an effective integration of the Romanian economy into the structures of the world market and an increased contribution to foreign capital investment in Romania, we will not be able to reduce the gap between ourselves and the developed countries.

I am convinced that our stability and balance in this part of the world are of interest to all democratic countries, particularly European countries. Our chance for restoration and prosperity depends first and foremost on our own efforts and our own capabilities. Similarly, this chance also depends on international support and cooperation.

In our view, a united Europe is not characterized by gaps and imbalances, but by their reduction and final elimination. As I have said before, we vitally need Europe; but Europe needs us and our peace and quiet. And not only Europe.

I want to express the hope that the new U.S. administration will re-examine its attitude toward Romania and will broach Romanian-American relations without any prejudice. I am convinced that, along with our relations with West Europe and its structures, relations with the United States of America are of priority for our foreign policy, and that only democratic states in the Euro-Atlantic area will grant their vital support for the new course of the political, economic, and social activity in Romania.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have supported and continue fully to support the independence of the Republic of Moldova and its consolidation, viewing this as a first step in the process of eliminating the baleful consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, a pact that has marred and hampered the unity of the Romanian nation.

Thinking of the actual moment of reunification, a moment of genuine historic and national justice, we have to agree on a new stage of relations with our brothers across the Prut River; we have to strengthen and develop the trend toward our economic, cultural, and spiritual integration in a common area of interests, possibilities, and aspirations.

We want relations of positive cooperation and understanding with our neighboring countries, since they are of crucial importance to Romania's stability. We want to develop normal and natural relations with the Ukraine by jointly seeking solutions that will guarantee profitable neighborly relations in both directions and at various levels.

We want to achieve normal relations with the Russian Federation and with the other independent states in the former Soviet area, as well as with the newly emerged states after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia. We are greatly concerned with the efforts of the European and international community to seek political solutions to the dramatic conflict in former Yugoslavia in order to contain and prevent its expansion within the Balkan area, especially since the rigors of the embargo against Yugoslavia are considerably affecting us and are paralyzing so many of our trade links and processes, on which Romanian companies vitally depended.

As I have said before, we are ready to meet with the Hungarian authorities at all levels and without any prior conditions in order to discuss openly any problem which affects our relations and to seek jointly ways and means to proceed down the road to normal relations of good neighborliness, understanding, and cooperation. As a matter of fact, we are pleased to note that recently a similar desire seems to be obvious in Hungary as well.

Vital interests link us to the cooperation zone along the Danube and Black Sea. This engages us directly in a complex system of economic relations which we want to be built properly and on a durable basis. We pay particular attention to developing friendly relations of positive cooperation with Greece, Turkey, and neighboring Bulgaria. We are also concerned to seek ways and means to reactivate economic relations with the countries in the Middle East, in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, with Japan and China, and with all states which respond to our desire for dialogue and cooperation.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the past three years Romania has proved its ability to be itself, whole, and stable. It has proved this to the world, too, while going through the stormy process of changes. The main thing was to understand the meaning of these changes and to identify the source that backs its cause and facilitates the gradual organization of its new structures and reserves.

The transition process has placed us in a world of fierce competition and we have to cope with it through joint efforts and through genuine national and social reconciliation. This is in fact the message with which I want to conclude my speech by suggesting that at the end of this year we reflect on the sense revealed by the anniversary of the Romanian revolution and the situation we are currently experiencing.

Let us honor the revolution, let us be worthy of the memory of those who sacrificed their lives for its cause, and let us be up to mark of the responsibility that rests on us for the present and future generations.

In conclusion, permit me to wish you and our entire nation a merry Christmas. And many of them. [applause]

RMP Holds News Conference on Policy Issues

AU1812201892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/12/1992—The Greater Romania Party (PRM) backs the printing workers' wishes to have better living and working conditions, but considers that their strike now is led from

behind by forces of the Democratic Convention that control most of the trade unions in the Romanian economy, said on December 18 at the press conference of his party its President Corneliu Vadim Tudor.

The PRM president specified that, while the right-wing and antipresidential publications further came out of private printing works supplied by the West, others could not, a situation he considered a serious attempt on the freedom of the press, as an insult to public opinion.

Approaching foreign policy issues, Senator C.V. Tudor requested the Russian Embassy in Bucharest, on behalf of PRM, to take due steps toward urgently releasing the four Romanian patriots tortured by the authorities of the "phantom Dniester Republic."

Concerned over the escalation of the bloody war in Yugoslavia, the president of the Greater Romania Party opined that international fora should be highly cautions because a foreign military intervention would be catastrophic for peace worldwide.

Referring to the events in Timisoara, Mr. Tudor assessed the first street demonstrations in 1989 as antistatal and anticonstitutional, which had nothing in common with the population's action. He assured he would bring evidence about the collaboration of Alexandru Popovici (now a member of parliament) with the Intelligence Service in the United States, and about the highly suspect strikes so far. He showed there were in Romania more than 2,000 foreign agents who "will not let us live peacefully because they are masters in the art of diversion."

In his opinion there will not be early elections in Romania though the opposition wants it and if they were held now and were fair, the right-wing parties would not even get 10 per cent.

In the end, Mr. Tudor showed his content with his party's activity because, though young, it became parliamentary, which proves the political line it adopted is the best one.

Iliescu, Officials Attend Award Ceremony

AU2212131892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1036 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/12/1992—A festivity took place at the Cotroceni Palace on Monday, December 21, where Romania's President Ion Iliescu met with representatives of the Associations of December 1989 Fighters, in marking three years since the event. As many as 188 people were handed over on the occasion the title of "Hero Martyr of the Romanian Revolution of December 1989", conferred under presidential decree in token of homage and praise of the memory of those who sacrificed their life. Also, 3,444 people were granted the title "Fighter for the Victory of the Romanian Revolution of December 1989", as a valuation of the spirit of sacrifice shown in the struggle for the victory of the December 1989 revolution. The medal "Romanian Revolution of December 1989" was conferred on 250 persons, for their direct participation in the December 1989 revolution.

The festivity was attended by Oliviu Gherman, president of the Senate, Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Nicolae Vacaroiu, Romania's prime minister, other officials.

After the distinctions were handed over, President Ion Iliescu evoked the dramatic moments of three years ago, referring to the changes wrought in the country's life thanks to those who fought in December 1989.

The fact that after the December 1989 events some people have shown regret for the past, even the more remote past, Ion Iliescu said, does not justify their claims, that have no connection whatsoever with the aspirations of those who sacrificed themselves: "those who regret a more remote past are ready now to present us with a monarchy, as if the revolutionary movement of December 1989 had been meant to reinstate the monarchy in Romania. The revolutionary movement was not for the return of the remote, pre-war past. Neither in point of social structures, nor of political structures and forms of government. How come that the country's monarch thinks of himself as Romania's savior? It was others that stood up to change Romania, to save Romania, to renew it from foundations and build a society characteristic of the end of the 20th century, not to take us centuries back", Ion Iliescu said.

Pointing out then that those who have changed the course of history could in no way be rewarded commensurate with their sacrifice, that the difficulties the country was living through did not allow for them to get more, President Iliescu stressed that they still deserved more attention, more respect and valuation from society, from all those who benefit from the changes wrought in the country's life.

It was also recalled that in order to pay more attention to their problems an office was created of presidential adviser with special tasks, an office entrusted to one of the direct participants in the December 1989 revolution—Dan Iosif.

After that, Ion Iliescu friendly conversed in private with the people present there.

Owen's Sarajevo Peace Mission Reviewed

AU2012140392 Paris AFP in English 1337 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Report by Michael Adler]

[Text] Lukavica, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dec 20 (AFP)—E.C. negotiator Lord Owen said here Sunday he would continue his pre-Christmas shuttle diplomacy in Sarajevo's war zone.

He met Sunday with Serbs besieging the Bosnian capital and said he would stay at least one more day for new talks.

"There's something still worth talking about. No optimism, no false hopes but there's still things to talk about. I'm staying," Owen told reporters at a Serb military base on the outskirts of Sarajevo.

Owen and U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance head the Geneva international conference on Yugoslavia.

Owen had told Radovan Karadzic, president of the self-proclaimed Serb Republic of Bosnia, at their meeting here: "You have my Christmas in your hands," a reference to Owen's pledge to stay in Sarajevo and keep working towards a peace agreement until December 25 if the warring parties were serious about negotiations.

"Before then," said top Serbian General Ratko Mladic, sitting next to Karadzic.

Bosnia's Serbs inherited the infrastructure of the Yugoslav Army when Bosnia became independent in April and war began.

The Bosnian defenders, fighting for the former Yugoslav republic internationally recognized as the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina in April, are mainly Moslem Slavs and Croats, and roughly 30 percent Serbs.

Government sources said the continuation of Alija Izetbegovic as Bosnian president would be automatic as of Sunday since the country was in a state of war. Izetbegovic's one-year term in office expired Sunday.

Owen told reporters in Sarajevo early Sunday that he had two main objectives.

The first was to try to restore some sort of normalcy in Sarajevo, now surrounded by Serb forces, shelled daily and with almost no water, electricity or enough fuel to heat hospitals.

The second was to pursue de-militarizing Sarajevo and negotiating peace throughout Bosnia.

The warring parties were to meet at Sarajevo airport Sunday to discuss setting up joint Serb-United Nations-Bosnian police patrols, particularly at checkpoints barring access to the city.

Owen said another goal was to restore utilities and, finally, to act on opening corridors for free passage to and from Sarajevo.

Karadzic said in a Bosnian Serb radio broadcast on Sunday that continuing the peace process depended on the some 70,000 Serbs among Sarajevo's 380,000 population being free to leave the city.

Also Sunday, senior military officers of the warring parties were to meet to discuss de-militarizing the area of Sarajevo airport, which is guarded by U.N. troops and the key logistics link in the U.N. humanitarian aid effort for Bosnia's besieged populations.

De-militarizing the airport is a sharp scaling down of Bosnian demands for the withdrawal of all artillery 30 kilometres (18 miles) from Sarajevo. The Serbs resist this since they are strong in artillery, and would be subject to Bosnian infantry attacks if without such support.

The Serbs, who now occupy at least 50 percent of Bosnia, want an immediate end to the war. But Owen said: "The Serbs say it's simple, just say the war is over."

But he said this demand, and the Bosnians' for withdrawal of artillery, would have to be discussed at the mixed military meetings joining the warring parties.

He said a first step would be de-militarizing the airport "so you don't go to the airport and look down the barrel of a gun."

But he said the chances of the two sides accepting this were "not high."

Akmadzic Optimistic After Owen Visit

LD2112171592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Following four days of negotiations in Sarajevo, Lord Owen is returning to London much more hopeful of establishing peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, although a miracle should not be expected soon, he stated after meeting Bosnia-Hercegovina Prime Minister Milo Akmadzic today, our correspondent Zdenko Vranjes has reported.

Mile Akmadzic told journalists that an agreement was reached in Sarajevo Airport today on the demilitarization of suburbs surrounding the airport. In talks with Lord Owen and General Morillon, he received assurances that Sarajevo will have electricity and enough fuel for Christmas, and told journalists after the talks that the war tension is easing and that a permanent peace is increasingly within reach.

Sarajevo is peaceful today. The press service of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army reported that formations of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council have constantly been advancing on the battlefields around Ilidza, Ilijas, and Vogosca.

Agreement on Civilian Evacuation of Sarajevo

LD2112170492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—Five hundred civilians, mainly elderly, sick, women, and children, will be able to leave Sarajevo daily.

Lord Owen, cochairman of the Geneva conference, stated this following his meeting with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina], held in Lukavica, the SRNA news agency reports.

The agreement will only be realized if the Muslim side approves it, which will be known after talks between Lord Owen and Muslim representatives to be held in Sarajevo this afternoon.

A framework for the demilitarization of Sarajevo has been agreed at the meeting in Lukavica, SRNA reports, and military, police, humanitarian and repairs commissions, which are due to start work immediately, have been set up.

British Parliamentarians Visit Serb Republic

LD2112235192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2137 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 21 (TANJUG)— A group of Conservative Party members of the British Parliament on Monday visited the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina and conferred with President Radovan Karadzic in Pale, a Bosnian Serb political centre east of Sarajevo.

The SRNA news agency reported that Karadzic informed his guests about the military and ethnic situation in former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

After the meeting Karadzic said he had told the M.P.'s about the "justified nature of the struggle waged by the Serb people, which the other two parties to the conflict are threatening to totally annihilate."

Delegation leader Russell Johnson told SRNA that he and his colleagues had come to have a first-hand look at the events in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Russell guaranteed that the British Parliament would receive a truthful picture of what was happening in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnia-Hercegovina has for over eight months been the scene of a civil and religious war between its local Muslims and (Catholic) Croats, assisted by regular army troops from neighbouring Croatia, and the local (orthodox) Serbs.

The conflict escalated after the European Community on April 7 recognized the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the request of its Muslims (44 per cent of the overall population) and Croats (17 per cent) and against the wishes of the Serbs, who make up 31 per cent of its population.

The Muslims initially agreed to a politically negotiated reorganization of the republic, but are now insisting on unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina, where they would be the most numerous people.

The Bosnian Serbs and Croats are opposed to this concept and have already created their own national communities, which they control politically and militarily.

Serb Minister Urges Izetbegovic To Attend Talks

LD1912211592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—A Bosnian Serb leader said on Saturday [19 December] he believed Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic would keep his promise and come to Geneva for a meeting with the leaders of Bosnian Serbs and Croats—Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban—planned for January 2.

Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Bosnian Serb Republic, told TANJUG that the meeting of the three leaders might accelerate the pace of the conference on Yugoslavia in Geneva if it should signal a recognition to the Bosnian Serbs of the right to self-determination and revert to the concept of Bosnia-Hercegovina's organization adopted at the Lisbon conference.

Fred Eckhard, spokesman for co-chairmen of the Yugoslavia conference Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, said on Friday that Izetbegovic had accepted the co-chairmen's invitation to meet Karadzic and Boban in Geneva.

Buha said the announcement that Bosnian Moslems and Croats would submit a joint proposal for the territorial organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina was no more than a tactical manoeuvre on the part of the leadership of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Bosnian Serbs have nothing against Bosnian Moslems and Croats regulating their mutual relations in the way they deem necessary, but are very much against their regulating the Serbs' political status for them, especially by force, said Buha.

"The international community should positively respond to the demand of the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina for their own states, unless it means to condemn them to death or eternal exile," he said.

Serbs in Croatia have proclaimed their own republic in protest against Croatia's secession from the original six-unit Yugoslav Federation and attempts to downgrade them to a national minority. The Republic of Serb Krajina has been placed under the protection of U.N. peace-keepers until a political solution for its status is found.

Serbs in Bosnia have also proclaimed their own republic in protest against the secessionist policy pursued by the Moslems and Croats in the leadership of this former Yugoslav republic.

New Serb Republic Premier Outlines Priorities

LD2112234392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2241 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 21 December (TANJUG)—Dr. Vladimir Lukic took over the position of prime minister from his predecessor Dr. Branko Djeric at a session of the government of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] this evening, SRNA news agency has reported.

President of the Serb Republic Presidency Dr. Radovan Karadzic and Republican Vice President Dr. Nikola Koljevic also attended the government session. [passage omitted]

Having thanked the outgoing prime minister, new Premier-designate Dr. Lukic presented basic principles of work of the new cabinet.

According to Dr. Lukic, team work will be in the forefront, while he will personally demand that his ministers just do their job, without any additional duties.

Dr. Lukic then stressed that the present cabinet will most certainly undergo changes. He also said that the first tasks facing the new cabinet will be the revival of production, with a particular emphasis on energy and transport, and registering property and putting it under stricter control, both property in the Serb Republic and also that belonging to the Serb Republic which is currently outside the republican borders. As one of the priority tasks, he mentioned care to secure commodities reserves, food production, and spring harvest.

Tuzla Protests to Vance, Owen Over Massacres

93BA0347F Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 92 p 9

[Article by Salih Brkic: "The Savage Murder of Innocent Civilians"]

[Text] Tuzla—The massacre which the former Yugoslav Army, the aggressor, and the Chetniks carried out on Wednesday by firing howitzer shells from readouts on Majevica on the Tuzla settlement of Slatina and several other places in the city with heavy traffic has left horrifying consequences. Eight people were killed and 29 wounded, the Tuzla Clinical Hospital has announced. Among the wounded, 14 have very serious wounds, and six are in critical condition.

A sizable number of children suffered in the massacre in the streets of Tuzla. The dead included the child of Emira Sarajlic, wounded by shrapnel in the mother's womb. The doctors performed a cesarean to remove the baby, but they did not succeed in saving it.

The Tuzla Opcina authorities and all inhabitants of this city are expressing sympathy with the families of the victims and their severely mutilated fellow citizens. At the same time, they are paying recognition to the emergency aid medical teams and teams of doctors who under the rain of artillery shells rendered aid and carried the victims to the Clinical Hospital on Gradina. On Thursday, a protest was sent from Tuzla to Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, cochairmen of the Peace Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, and then to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, and to Satish Nambiar and Philippe Morillon, commanders of the peacekeeping forces. It was sent by the mayor of this city, Selim Beslagic, M.A., in the name of the 110,000 inhabitants of this city and the 55,000 driven from their homes who have sought salvation in Tuzla.

"While we are burying our fellow citizens, and the doctors are fighting to save those who have been seriously wounded, on behalf of all the inhabitants of this city I am expressing to you our bitterness, concern, and protest because of the ineffectiveness of all your actions up to now to halt the brutal aggression against our Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H]. The criminals targeted residential settlements, hospitals, schools, and kindergartens. The blood of our citizens is being shed every day, we are dying every minute, yet all of your efforts so far to halt the aggression have been unsuccessful. You promised to open up humanitarian corridors along several routes, to remove the blockade from the cities, and to eliminate the heavy artillery. Nothing has been done. Are you thinking of salving your conscience by sending us canned goods? Gentlemen, is there a difference between dying hungry or well-fed?" Selim Beslagic, M.A., mayor of Tuzla, asks bitterly.

Beslagic implored all the prestigious world figures whom he addressed to finally stop deceiving all the citizens of B-H and all the people of the world who would like to help.

"And please also finally communicate to the world the truth about the genocide in B-H, the ethnic cleansing, and the monstrous crimes and concentration camps in which there are still about 14,000 people in the area of northeastern Bosnia alone. I call upon you to hold all the peace meetings in B-H, to give up the plan of creating enclaves for Muslims under the cloak of setting up security zones of some kind. That is no solution at all, and Europe and the world will thereby cause new conflicts and lasting instability over a very broad area. They can kill us all, but we will not lose our dignity. If you do not help us to conquer Milosevic's fascism, tomorrow you will be fighting that same fascism. Do what you can before it is too late," Selim Beslagic, M.A., mayor of Tuzla, concluded his protest.

Purge in Bosnia-Hercegovina Army Viewed

93BA0348B Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 92 p 12

[Article by Dz. Kolukcija: "Purge in Army of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina]"]

[Text] Mostar—The commander of the Fourth Corps of the Army of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], Arif Pasalic, confirmed at a press conference on Monday that a sizable group of members of the Army of B-H has been arrested in Konjic and Jablanica Opstinas based on the well-founded suspicion that they are involved in black-marketeering and reselling Army weapons, equipment, and food, that they had a destructive effect on campaigns against Chetniks by Army units in this region, and that they participated in the arbitrary release of captured Chetniks from Celebic prison near Konjic. Thus far, 22 members of the Army of B-H have been arrested, and four civilians have been interrogated. For now there are no indications that members of the Army of B-H from Mostar were involved in these criminal activities.

Commander Pasalic said that the arrestees include Edib Saric, the deputy commander of Tactical Group I of the Army of B-H, while the names of the other arrestees are still being kept secret in the interest of the investigation. It was also announced that the key figure involved in the affair in the Army ranks, Zejnil Delalic, the commander of Tactical Group I, is at large, as is the commander of Celebic prison, Zdravko Mucic, known as Pavo. The investigating authorities from the Hercegovian corps announced that they have irrefutable evidence on seven arrestees showing that they were involved in the described criminal activities. There is proof of trading in weapons, equipment, and food from the Army of B-H, the release from prison of Serbian prisoners, and commands given to physically liquidate people who got in their way, which was ordered by Delalic. There is also evidence that Delalic, Saric, and others were involved in obstructing military campaigns against Chetniks and in provoking conflict and intolerance between members and units of the Army of B-H and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in this region, including central Bosnia.

Commander Pasalic also confirmed that Col. Jovan Divjak, a member of the Main Staff of the Army of B-H, is also in prison in Konjic. He said that Divjak was placed in isolation because of attempts by incensed soldiers from the Army of B-H in Konjic to physically liquidate him for enemy and criminal activities within their ranks.

Commander Pasalic confirmed that a number of people have also disappeared from Jablanica, that some people have been arrested, and that the commander of the Military Police in that town has been replaced. He was categorical in stating that none of the members of the 1st Mostar Brigade, which he headed until the formation of the corps, is involved in the affair. Pasalic announced further activities within the Army ranks to purge all enemy elements, meaning high-ranking officials from the enemy intelligence service and persons involved in wartime profiteering.

Croats Unwilling To Give Up Herceg-Bosnia

LD2012180392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Dec 92

[Text] HINA [Croatian news agency] cites a statement by the office of the president of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosnia issued in response to a news conference given by Alija Izetbegovic in Zagreb three days ago, when Izetbegovic replied in the affirmative when asked if Mate Boban has given up the concept of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosnia.

The statement says: In order to inform the public about the truth and to remove any misunderstandings, we announce that a meeting between Vance, Owen, Tudjman, Izetbegovic, and Boban was held to adopt a decision to start negotiations in Geneva, scheduled for 2 January, involving the highest representatives of the Muslim, Serb, and Croat nations and aimed at reaching an agreement on ending the war and on the constitutional organization of Bosnia- Hercegovina. A possible Muslim-Croat proposal on the organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina was also discussed and it was agreed that Muslim and Croat teams of experts should be appointed to make a joint proposal to be submitted to Izetbegovic and Boban for discussion.

In accordance with this agreement Mate Boban, president of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosnia, appointed a commission to coordinate work on the joint Muslim-Croat proposal for the constitutional system and the administrative, political, and territorial organization of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This decision was delivered to Alija Izetbegovic and the Party of Democratic Action of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the statement stresses, and adds that so far the office of the president of the Croat community of Bosnia-Hercegovina has not received Izetbegovic's corresponding decision.

It is clear that there is no reason for Izetbegovic's claim alleging that Mate Boban will give up the concept of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosnia. On the contrary, the Croat community of Herceg-Bosnia is and will remain an expression of the will of the Croat nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina in order to realize its rights in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This will of the Croat nation, on the basis of which Mate Boban has the mandate to represent it at the highest level, is expressed in the political charter of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] adopted at the second general Bosnia-Hercegovina HDZ assembly held in Mostar on 14 December. The Bosnia-Hercegovina constitution must implement the political will of the Croat nation which is clearly expressed in this party's political charter, says the statement, which is signed by Srecko Vucina, head of the office of the president of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosnia.

The statement also includes yesterday's decision to appoint a commission to coordinate the joint Muslim-Croat proposal on the constitutional system and the administrative, political, and territorial organization of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The commission consists of Zoran Buntic, Ante Markotic, and Anto Valenta and its duty is to imediately organize and coordinate a working meeting with the Muslim nation's commission and report as soon as possible on the joint proposal. This is cited in the decision signed by Mate Boban, president of the Croat community of Herceg- Bosnia.

'Jihad Warriors' Said Preparing for Sabotage

AU1912153692

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 19 December carries in its regular 28-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Drago Todorovic reports from Foca that "a general alarm has been sounded twice in the city today. The long-planned Muslim general offensive against the positions of the Foca fighters began at 0545 this morning on all the front lines. Particularly fierce all-out attacks by the Muslim infantry supported by 120-mm and 82-mm mortars have been reported on both sides of the Drina River toward Gorazde. Fighting is still going on in the wider region of Ustikolina."

Reporting from Visegrad, Radoje Tasic says that "the units of Green Berets from Gorazde and Medjedje are concentrating their troops and equipment around the free Serbian territory. An enemy sabotage terrorist unit has been infiltrated into the free territory with the task of cutting off the main and side roads in the region of the Visegrad and Rudo communes. The units of the Serbian army are closely following the movements of this combat formation consisting of Muslim jihad warriors, and are preparing for its total destruction."

Miodrag Njegovanovic reports from Hercegovina that "there is sporadic shooting on the battlefields of the Drina River and the villages of the Serbian commune of Bratunac. The Muslim-Ustasha forces are opening fire from artillery and infantry weapons from their strongholds in (?Urkovici) and (?Hrncici) near (?Logova). The Army of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] is forced to respond to enemy fire."

Muslims Launch 'Unprecedented Offensive' Near Foca

AU2112170092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Drago Todorovic report from Foca]

[Excerpts] Islamic terrorists have launched an unprecedented offensive on the Serbian fighters from Foca. The offensive has been continuing for two days and two nights on all parts of the front. The Muslims brought many men and a lot of equipment to this part of the front from Visegrad and Gorazde. The so-called Drina Brigade is also taking part in this offensive. This was reported by Serbian military sources in Foca.

The Serbian fighters heroically resisted the fanatic Alija Izetbegovic hordes, who had to retreat early this morning from the dominant hill positions at Stolac, Stolasac, and Borovac. They left casualties and many of the most modern weapons behind. [passage omitted]

The Muslims were quiet until midday, when they began a new barrage with mortars and light rocket launchers from their positions in Osanica and Ilovaca. [passage omitted]

Gains Reported by Muslims in Posavina Corridor

LD1912005392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Report by VERNJI LIST correspondent Ekrem Avdic for Croatian Radio from Tuzla]

[Text] The battle for the Bosnian Posavina corridor [most important Serb corridor linking Serbia with Krajinas, very narrow near Brcko, where it is being attacked by Muslims from the south and Croats from the north], the corridor of life for chetniks in the so-called Serb Krajina, is raging on.

The command of the Bosnian Posavina operational group of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army 2d Corps, deploying strong antitank forces, routed the Serb-chetnik armored units on the Markovic Polje-Drenova part of the front.

On the other side, Bosnian Posavina HVO [Croat] units routed the aggressor's armored units near Vucilovac. The commander of the Bosnian Posavina operational group, Ivan Turkovic, told us that currently only three tanks are supporting the chetnik infantry units near Gradacac and Brcko. These battlefields have become tank and armored personnel carrier graveyards for the Serb-Montenegrin fascist hordes.

So far, HVO and Bosnia-Hercegovina army units have destroyed or put out of action some 200 tanks and personnel carriers, which is equal to the strength of one armored division.

Hungary Interested in Trade With Croatia

93BA0347E Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by Gradimir Radivojevic]

[Text] Rijeka—The Republic of Hungary is interested in increasing overall trade with Croatia, which immediately before the war amounted to $170 million, and in the first nine months of this year $110 million, that is, $5 million less than in all of last year, and especially in strengthening existing relations and establishing new business relations with the Rijeka region, which is a very important business partner for Hungary.

This is what representatives of the economy of the Kvarner-Goranska region (the maritime economy, the seaports, transportation, tourism, and other sectors) were told on Thursday, the second day of a visit to this region, by Gabor Bagi, ambassador of the Republic of Hungary in Croatia, and Dr. Janos Pancsics, trade counselor in the embassy, in a conversation organized by the Rijeka Regional Economic Chamber.

Hungary, from what they said, is directly interested in opening the Adriatic Oil Pipeline as soon as possible; it has vital importance to the Hungarian economy; in construction of a modern highway from Rijeka to Budapest, but also in future construction of a railroad line through the plains from Rijeka to Zagreb and to modernize it to Budapest, a project in which investors should also be sought from other countries.

The state authorities of Hungary are giving support to improvement of economic relations with Croatia, but it is up to the partners to conclude contracts for specific transactions which are of interest to both countries. In liberalizing its foreign trade relations, Hungary has already made it possible for 85 percent of import transactions to be conducted without state permits and 75 percent of exports, which will be liberated still more at the beginning of next year, especially concerning exports of agricultural products, some of which they would like to market in Croatia and in the Kvarner tourist region.

The Rijeka area, served by the Regional Economic Chamber, which also corresponds to the proposed Rijeka-Goranska Zupanija, has exceptional importance to the economy of Hungary, Dr. Janos Pancsics emphasized. According to him, Hungary wants among other things to become involved as soon as possible in the reconstruction of Croatia, because in its southern section, which borders the Republic of Croatia, it has considerable capacity and personnel in its construction industry. Increased cooperation is also possible in the oil industry, and there are new opportunities to increase mutual trade in the service industries.

Announcing that a sizable number of tourists would be coming from Croatia in the very next season, Dr. Pancsics indicated the vision of a development of tourism between the two countries following the announced construction of the limited-access highway from Rijeka to Budapest. The Hungarian economy, 30 percent of whose overseas trade goes through the Adriatic, using the port of Rijeka, wants to deepen those relations, and an example of specific moves is the preparation of the firm Masped to establish a joint factory in Rijeka.

Representatives of the Rijeka economy and Krsto Pavic, president of the Regional Economic Chamber, informed their guests about the capabilities and readiness of this region to put economic cooperation with Hungary on a level that will satisfy all participants.

Croatian Christian Democratic Union To Be Founded

93BA0347D Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Branko Podgornik: "The Croatian Christian Democratic Union Has Support of the German CDU [Christian Democratic Union]"]

[Text] Zagreb—The leaders of the German CDU [Christian Democratic Union] are giving moral and material support to the Croatian Christian Democratic Union [HDU]. This was emphasized on Thursday by members of the HDU presidency, Dr. Marko Veselica, Zeljko Olujic, Dr. Anto Kovacevic, Dr. Milan Bicanic, and Goran Biljan, in a press conference after their return from Germany, where they spoke to CDU leaders. The representatives of the incumbent German party, it was said, summoned both representatives of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] and certain other Croatian parties for talks.

Goran Biljan announced that the Croatian Christian Democratic Union would soon be formed as a formal organization. First, on 19 December, separate assemblies will be held of the HDS [Croatian Democratic Party] and HKDS [Croatian Christian Democratic Party], and an assembly of the HDU is anticipated on 20 December. Zeljko Olujic added that the chapters of the HDS and HKDS are gradually merging into the HDU, and that the union is also being joined by members of other parties. He expressed confidence that "strong energy through the HDU will soon put its imprint on Croatia's political life."

Mentioning that "Croatia's reputation in the world is also dropping because of the attitude of Croatian policy toward Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H]," Anto Kovacevic warned that "the leaders of the CDU think that the policy of the Croats in B-H should invest more effort in cooperation between Croats and Muslims and that too much effort has been spent on talks with Karadzic." The leaders of the CDU are bothered that the "Croatian leaders are conducting a Serbian-type policy toward B-H," Kovacevic said.

Marko Veselica remarked that "motivation of Croatian emigres to help the homeland Croatia is dropping off," and that "hesitation in making the transition to a market

economy and the strengthening of totalitarianism and repression" in Croatia "are making it more difficult for our friends to work for Croatia abroad." Veselica emphasized that our emigres want to invest in Croatia and are asking when conditions will be brought about so that people can begin to live in it and create as they do in the advanced part of the world?

Veselica gave an affirmative answer to the question of whether parties still make sense in the diaspora after the creation of the Croatian state: "Otherwise, there is the danger of the incumbent party monopolizing the emigres." Veselica judged that it is "unacceptable to equate Croatia with Serbia and Tudjman with Milosevic," but he added that "certain mistakes in Croatian policy should nevertheless be corrected." Biljan added that "the HDZ is the most responsible" for Croatia's reputation in the world, noting that "the Croatian opposition cannot live hostage to the HDZ."

[Box, p 5]

The CDU—Who Is That?

None of the Croatian parties has yet become a member of the European Association of Christian Democrats, but there are at least two who want to: the HDZ and the HDU. It is interesting that after the translation into German or English, the same acronym can be obtained from the party names of the Croatian Democratic Union and Croatian Christian Democratic Union. Both are quite often referred to in the world as the CDU, which is also the abbreviation of the German Christian Democratic Union.

Leader of Croatia's Serbs on Exiles

93BA0347G Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 92 p 4

[Article by Snjezana Canic: "The Chetniks Will Face Justice"]

[Text] Osijek—During a visit to Osijek Opcina, Milan Djukic, vice president of the Croatian Assembly, and Veselin Pejnovic, deputy in the House of Representatives of the Assembly, talked to representatives of the Osijek Opcina authorities and members of the Exiles Community. Most of the discussion concerned the reestablishment of Croatian authority on the temporarily occupied territories and the return of the exiles to the places from which they came. A closed-door meeting was also held with four citizens of Serbian nationality from Osijek, in which certain occurrences and events in the city itself were the topic. Before that, Branko Vorkapic, member of the SNS [Serbian National Party], informed newsmen about the problems of the Serbs because of the difficulties acquiring citizenship, property relations, and difficulties related to jobs.

Milan Djukic emphasized that it is Croatia's obligation to liberate all its territories, because "there is no return to Baranja, Knin, Benkovac, and elsewhere unless Croatia's legal system is established there first." He added that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] must also acquire greater authority. Djukic reproached the United Nations for its poor assessment of the situation in the former Yugoslavia. "In order to prevent the delivery of goods, food, and the rest to the so-called krajinas, we have called upon the UN Security Council to have the UNPROFOR establish intergovernmental control on Croatia's borders with Serbia and B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina]," Djukic said. He said that after their visit to Croatia both Vance and Owen finally realized that they had been wrong in their assessments. "The Chetniks, the self-styled military leaders, and people who have played only a political role are today no longer necessary to Serbia, and they will certainly be brought to justice. But at the same time a distinction must be made between those Serbs who were mobilized under pressure and seduced. They should be allowed to go to the nearest places that border on the temporarily occupied areas and told the truth about Croatia the way it is and not the way it is represented by the Chetniks," Djukic believes. He also spoke in favor of facilitating the delivery of pensions and the occasional purchase of gasoline in order to implement the part of the peace plan that concerns the return of those who were driven out.

Mato Simic, vice president of the Osijek Opcina Exiles Community, himself an exile from Laslovo, expressed satisfaction with the views of the SNS, but he still concluded that they are almost unrealizable, because there still have been no results in reestablishing contacts with the Serbs from the temporarily occupied places.

At the end of the discussion, Karlo Karacic, mayor of Osijek, expressed satisfaction because of this meeting, and he judged that the views of the SNS coincide with the opinions of the Osijek government.

Milan Djukic and Veselin Pejnovic were joined by Branimir Glavas, chairman of the Executive Council of the Osijek Opcina Assembly, in paying a visit to the retired Serbian archpriest Lazar Miskovic in Cepin.

Djukic was at the same time informed that the first visit to that temporarily occupied town in Osijek Opcina had been organized through the Orthodox and Catholic priests. Bogdan Tatomir, the Orthodox priest in Dalj, together with the Catholic priest Martin Radman, was in Aljmas, whence the statue of the Virgin was brought to find refuge in Osijek.

Christian Democrats Decline Coalition Membership

AU1812192492 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Interview with Grega Golobic, secretary general of the Liberal Democratic Party, by correspondent Sandi Frelih; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Golobic] Judging by the replies that we received, primarily by the answer of the Slovene Christian Democrats, we can now say that a large coalition somehow does not seem very possible. In their reply to [Prime Minister] Drnovsek, the Slovene Christian Democrats wrote that they would not agree to cooperate in any coalition that would also include the United List, that is to say, the Social Democratic Reform. On the other hand, bearing in mind their proposal for the unification of the right wing, that is to say, the center right wing, to use their words, where they would rely on the Slovene People's Party and two other non-parliamentary parties of the same political orientation, they also favor including the Slovene Peoples' Party in a coalition in which they would participate.

[Frelih] As is known, however, the Slovene People's Party is not one of the partners for the talks and was not invited to form the coalition.

[Golobic] The Slovene Peoples' Party did not receive the invitation. This is primarily due to their explicit views, that is to say, mostly the views of their president Marjan Podobnik, regarding our party, the government, and its former work under the leadership of Dr. Janez Drnovsek, and the policies of this government.

Croatian Envoy on Slovene-Croatian Relations

93BA0338A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 2 Dec 92 p 1

[STA article: "Priority to the Economy in Relations Between the States"]

[Text] *Croatian Ambassador to Slovenia Miljenko Zagar wants model intergovernmental relations.*

Ljubljana, 1 Dec—The Republic of Croatia's ambassador to Slovenia, Miljenko Zagar, presented himself to the Slovene public for the first time today at the embassy's villa on the Grubar bank in Ljubljana. In his meeting with reporters, Miljenko Zagar, who has a master's degree in theology and is a publisher and a deputy in the Croatian Assembly, expressed the desire to have relations between Slovenia and Croatia become a model for other states.

Miljenko Zagar, a former priest, a widower, the father of five children, and a former HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] secretary, who also studied music and economic sciences and taught classical Latin and Greek, gave priority in relations between Slovenia and Croatia to the economy, and immediately after that, to culture and political relations. As he stated, recently a good atmosphere has been quietly created for improving relations between Slovenia and Croatia, and a trade agreement is also being prepared. "Trade relations are an important reason for good relations in general," thought the Croatian ambassador, who emphasized that this was particularly necessary for two neighboring states with a long common border.

With respect to the occasional disagreements between Slovenia and Croatia, for example over violations of the "maritime border," the ambassador thought that they should be treated as mistakes by individuals, which should not influence relations between the two states as a whole.

With respect to the preelection promises by several Slovene party leaders that the law on citizenship will have to be amended, he thought that these were slogans that individuals were uttering in the hope that they would win over voters. The issue of citizenship has been well regulated between Slovenia and Croatia, and it would not be good to amend it hastily, Miljenko Zagar thought. He mentioned the possibility of dual citizenship, which is a good solution in many places in the world, and in this regard he expressed confidence that the Slovene authorities would resolve this issue well.

With respect to the new Croatian dissidents who are now writing in Slovenia, Miljenko Zagar said that he valued the freedom of speech and of writing, but that it should not harm other people and that it was good only as long as it did not limit the freedom of others. Regarding the writer Slavenka Drakulic, to whom one of the reporters' questions applied, he thought that sometimes she made statements outside of the right context—her context is still supposed to be the former Yugoslavia, and she has to get used to the fact that Croatia and Slovenia are no longer in Yugoslavia.

In addition to the ambassador, there is also a secretary in Ljubljana for consular affairs, Branko Salijevic, and Ambassador Zagar hopes that they will soon be joined by an expert on economic issues as well.

Federal

Cosic Discusses Milosevic, Bosnian Conflict

PM2112173092 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 16 Dec 92 p 6

[Interview with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic by Richard Swartz in Belgrade; date not given]

[Text] [Swartz] President Cosic, as a convinced democrat you have recently said that your "tactical and strategic goals" no longer coincide with those of Slobodan Milosevic. Does this mean that you see Milosevic as the foremost obstacle to democratic developments in Serbia-Montenegro?

[Cosic] Not so long ago I pointed out the areas where we disagree; these include the character of our new state, how democracy should be understood, a number of problems in the field of foreign policy, and the serious consequences of the economic sanctions of which we are the target.

However, our disagreements are about the whole situation in which we find ourselves. Milosevic is a young man. Because of his nature he is perhaps more optimistic than I am. But I, who am much older and skeptical by nature, take a gloomier view of what the future holds in store. There have always been fundamental political differences between us, even though we agreed on this and that. In addition, Milosevic is a militant defender of his principles. I on the other hand believe in compromise as a democratic tool.

[Swartz] Nevertheless, it is not so long since you said that Slobodan Milosevic is the greatest Serbian politician of the latter half of this century.

[Cosic] I have never said anything so stupid. What I said was completely different.

[Swartz] What?

[Cosic] That Milosevic has been the most popular politician in Serbia in this period—that is, when he was fighting for the Serbian people's equality as a nation and rejecting the communist inheritance which made others behave like slaves before Tito, even after he was dead. It was Milosevic's finest hour. But as you know, popularity is not always the same as competence or quality.

[Swartz] You have made it clear that you are ready to leave your post if the 20 December elections do not represent a victory for democracy. How is this to be understood? Is it criticism leveled against Milosevic? And if not against Milosevic, against whom?

[Cosic] If the democratic forces do not win—that is, the forces which are ready for a more flexible policy both here at home and toward the rest of the world—I will resign immediately. This means that my criticism is leveled against Slobodan Milosevic, Vojislav Seselj, Vuk Draskovic—against all political extremists. Not to mention all the little parties that have no political, moral, or national qualifications at all.

[Swartz] Did you intentionally omit to mention Milan Panic among the extremists?

[Cosic] I support Panic as prime minister; here he has a mandate up to 20 December. After that it is up to the voters to decide. As president I cannot come out in support of individuals or parties. But my general political convictions have been known for a long time. On 20 December the voters can support or reject them.

[Swartz] Serbia-Montenegro finds itself in a very serious situation. At their conference in Jeddah the Muslim states showed that they are very disturbed by what is happening in Bosnia, and it cannot be ruled out that the United States will show active solidarity with their allies in the Muslim world. If the elections here were to result in a coalition government, where a weakened Milosevic would still have the greatest influence, could such a government really be strong enough to switch to a new course? Could it create the necessary preconditions to lift the economic sanctions and to remove the threat of direct military intervention against your country?

[Cosic] I would view such a coalition government as a great step forward; hitherto we have had a single party in power. Naturally, it has to be expected that Milosevic's Socialists would also play a prominent role in a coalition government; but they would be legitimized through democratic elections—a legitimacy which cannot be questioned by the rest of the world, not even by the United States which does after all respect democratic principles. If the United States were to deviate from this path, this would mean repression, the oppression of peoples and territories. That would be a great tragedy for my nation.

[Swartz] Nevertheless, we know that the rest of the world is demanding that your country change it policies, hence my question. A coalition government seems the likeliest outcome today; but can such a government really carry through what the rest of the world is demanding of you?

[Cosic] I am convinced of that. Otherwise I would not have called the elections or said what I have said so many times already. And I would not be sitting here.

[Swartz] Do you think that it will ever be possible to make good the damage which the "ethnic cleansing" has caused in Bosnia? Do you think that people really are ready to to move back to places they have been forcibly driven out of?

[Cosic] Bosnia is not a problem that can be solved here in Belgrade. It is a case of a religious and civil war, an ethnic war, which is not due exclusively to us Serbs. If that were the case, the problems would have been solved long ago. But three different nations are involved here and the world must realize that it is Croatia that is the aggressor, and not we Serbs. Why do people not want to

see that? The war in Bosnia is not taking place in a mouse hole—everybody can see what is going on there! The world must exert pressure on Alija Izetbegovic and Franjo Tudjman (Bosnia-Hercegovina's and Croatia's presidents respectively); they must be the target of sanctions, not just us. As long as it is thought to be normal that one party can declare a "holy war," a jihad in Bosnia, and as long as people toy with the idea of lifting the arms embargo and arming the Muslims, there can be no peace in Bosnia. Despite all the efforts we have made on the Serbian side! Instead the tragedy there for all three nationalities will continue. And from this could come a tragedy for the whole world.

[Swartz] The two mediators, David Owen and Cyrus Vance, say that under no circumstances will they accept "ethnic cleansing" as a program. In other words, they reject any solution which would be based on the actual division of Bosnia-Hercegovina —a division which already exists as a result of the war. Do you think that their position is realistic?

[Swartz] Unfortunately it is unrealistic. Of course I wish with all my heart that things were different, but so much fear and hatred now dominate the climate between these three nations that it would be impossible to imagine that everyone would be able to go back to their homes again. Not all of them. And this applies equally to Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. Their old ties are now stained with blood; therefore it would not be human and democratic if we were to demand of them that they should live together again.

Vance and Owen do not want to understand this. They have a model for a solution which is based on a multicultural, multinational community. They view this as something normal, and that is probably true elsewhere in the world, but not in Bosnia. In Bosnia there are antagonisms that are hundreds of years old and that is why it is no longer possible to expect people there to live together again. Let us not force them to do something they are unable to do! Let us instead help them to find time so that they will eventually be able to live side by side. Anything else would be a tragedy—as it was a tragedy to recognize the nonexistent state of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Swartz] What would your own state be prepared to do to enable people in Bosnia to be able to live "side by side?"

[Cosic] Federal Yugoslavia will recognize any agreement which comes about through democratic means between the three nations there. We have no other interest, no territorial demands; the only thing that interests us is that the human and national rights of all the peoples there are respected. In actual fact we have become their hostage; peace in Bosnia is the only chance for us to break our of the ghetto where we have been put because people say that it is all our fault. But that is not true. What is happening in Bosnia is not our fault.

[Swartz] Nevertheless, your view of what should happen in Bosnia seems to be on a collision course with what has been proposed by the mediators.

[Cosic] I agree with Owen and Vance that "ethnic cleansing" is something terrible. How could a writer and humanist like me take a different view? What divides us is instead the question of how we can put a stop to the "cleansing," and I think that the only way to avoid totally "cleansed" territories is to accept what the parties involved agree on among themselves. And we can actually more or less begin to make out the contours of such an agreement!

Herceg-Bosna is already completely under the control of Croatia; they have introduced their own currency there, the army is in place, the administration is in Croat hands. The region is in practice part of Croatia, and the Serbs in Bosnia also have their own republic, with a parliament and control over their own territory. The Muslims? It is of course true that they control less than they have a right to. But that can be changed, and I therefore think that Croats and Serbs must hand over some of their territory to them. Only if the national interests can be met in this way, will some people return in the long run so that we avoid ethnically "cleansed" areas. It is precisely in the views we take of this problem that the fundamental difference between Owen/Vance and me is to be found, a difference which is about means and not about the real goal. At the same time it has been my impression recently that Owen/Vance are beginning to have some doubts about whether their model can work. This much at least ought to be clear to all: Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot exist as a united state, only as a federation or confederation.

[Swartz] Would it not also be logical for the same right of national self-determination were also to apply for the Albanians in Kosovo? If through orderly democratic channels a majority there voiced a wish to leave your state, perhaps to join with Albania, would you let the Albanians do it?

[Cosic] Both Mr. Owen and Mr. Vance and the United States are totally opposed to such a solution. But I for my own part would, in principle, be ready to discuss a reconfiguration not only of Yugoslavia, but of the whole of the Balkans. As you know the peoples of the Balkans live fragmented, with many scattered abroad. If we were to push the right to self-determination as a principle here, it would of course also apply to the Albanians. If the world were ready for such a solution, I would be too. But if the arrangement were only to apply to one nation, it would be impossible for me to accept the Albanians' secession from Yugoslavia. The same principle must apply for all, without exception.

[Swartz] You mean: for the Serbs in Bosnia too?

[Cosic] Of course! And for the Serbs in Croatia and Macedonia. Or for the Croats in Serbia. For all. Then we can sit down and start to talk.

UN Sanctions Viewed as 'Rigorous,' 'Reprisal'

93BA0348C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 92 p 4

[Article by Slobodan Klakic: "Technique of Punishing Yugoslavia: Half a Year of Sanctions"]

[Text] *In all of UN history, the international isolation of one state has never been as rigorous as it is in our case; why the string of Security Council resolutions has not halted the war in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina].*

"That is one opinion, which from my viewpoint is correct, meaning that it is correct that only the Security Council is empowered to introduce and apply sanctions, mandatory, obligatory sanctions. However, as I understand it the European Community has still not passed a resolution on imposing sanctions on Yugoslavia."

These were the words used by Perez de Cuellar, the former secretary general of the United Nations, back on 7 November 1991 in response to a journalist's question. The reporter was interested in what the UN secretary general thought about the position of Slobodan Milosevic, who was in The Hague at the time, in terms of the view that the European Community cannot impose sanctions on Yugoslavia, and that that right is enjoyed exclusively by the UN Security Council.

We recall this because exactly six months have passed since the imposition of Security Council sanctions on the FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia, which were declared on 30 May of this year in Resolution 757.

It is necessary to provide this reminder because even before that resolution Yugoslavia was under a blockade, which contrary to the belief of the top man at the world organization at the time was declared by the countries of the EC in their "Declaration of Rome," and this only one day after he stated that they had not yet done that.

Total of 24 Resolutions on Yugoslavia

In the coming time, future researchers will have unlimited opportunities to gain various degrees of scientific knowledge by studying the attitude by the international community, and thus by the United Nations as well, toward the Yugoslav crisis.

Since the crisis began, and through the phase of bloody conflict and the disintegration of the SFRY, the creation and recognition of a series of states on the territory of the former SFRY, the Security Council has adopted a total of 24 resolutions on Yugoslavia. Even Iraq was the subject of such resolutions only 14 times, to say nothing of other central problems in the world during the Cold War period.

Yugoslavia is the champion not only in this regard, but also in terms of content. In all of UN history, the international isolation of one state has never been like it has been demonstrated in our case.

Indeed, thus far sanctions have been applied only against Korea, South Africa, Iraq, and our country.

Under the latest Resolution 787, adopted on 18 November of this year, but drawn up at the offices of the State Department, the severity of the international community's measures have surpassed even those applied in the case of Iraq (except for the military force demonstrated there, of course). Specifically, in the case of the Gulf, there was no total blockade of harbors like the one found in Resolution 787, nor was Iraq, despite everything, thrown out of the UN General Assembly, as is the case with the FR Yugoslavia.

As far as the use of military force is concerned, analysts say that under the latest Security Council resolution that possibility is more likely now than when the May resolution was adopted, which marked the beginning of the blockade.

Subjected to rigorous measures from the imposition of "sanitary isolation," the local population seems to have forgotten when all this began. That is why we began this article by recalling the days of November of last year.

When It All Began

Under the aforementioned EC "Declaration of Rome," specifically, sanctions were imposed on the SFRY, with the support of member states of EFTA [European Free Trade Association], Canada, Japan, Australia, and the United States.

At that time, SFRY-EC agreements on trade and cooperation were suspended, a decision was passed on terminating that agreement, the import of technology into Yugoslavia was restricted, and our country was removed from the list of countries benefiting from the general plan of preferential treatment, which means that it was thrown out of the circle of states exempt from customs duty on their products. The significance of this is indicated by the fact that in 1990 the SFRY exported a total of $8.3 billion to EC countries, whereby as much as 40 percent of the products enjoyed the aforementioned preferential treatment.

Under the "Declaration of Rome," Yugoslavia was also blocked from taking advantage of PHARE Program [Poland and Hungary Action for Reconstruction of Economy], on the basis of which it received free aid amounting to more than $200 million in 1990.

As we know, there was no war in Bosnia-Hercegovina at that time.

Very soon, (on 2 December) all of the what were still at the time Yugoslav republics were exempted from these measures, except for Serbia and Montenegro. After only six days, Germany suspended agreements with Yugoslavia in the area of transport and communication, through which it practically prohibited communication and transportation with our country.

The blow inflicted on our vulnerable economy by these measures soon became evident (a drop in exports, production, imports...). To the countries that applied the sanctions this was like a mosquito bite, because Yugoslavia accounted for scarcely 1 percent of EC trade.

April's Ray of Hope

At the beginning of this year, on 10 January, the EC lifted sanctions on Montenegro, and on 6 April that possibility was announced for Serbia as well.

The measure was combined with recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina, however, as well as additional conditions for Serbia demanded by Germany (the inviolability of internal borders, respect for rights of minorities, the lifting of the blockade of the airspace over Croatia and Slovenia). As a reminder, we note that this was when the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina also began.

Only a few days before that, it appeared that things would proceed as they should, and that representatives of that republic's three constituent nations would reach an agreement on a cantonal division of B-H at a meeting in Brussels.

That favorable course was brought about in part by the EC effort to lift the sanctions against Serbia.

What happened was the opposite, after the war broke out and after the viewpoint that Serbia, together with the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], was the aggressor in B-H immediately became firmly entrenched, just as the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina himself, Alija Izetbegovic, violated the agreed-to cease-fire of 12 April by ordering an attack on JNA units, which Muslims had previously deserted en masse.

The threat mounted, and U.S. representatives became the front guard. Thus, as early as on 15 April, Lawrence Eagleburger said that his country sharply condemns the Serbian aggression in B-H, and that Serbia will suffer "serious consequences." Indeed, on 24 April he rejected demands for a blockade, but by 5 May, in Helsinki, the United States was demanding the exclusion of Yugoslavia, by now a new state, from the CSCE.

The classic diversion at Ulica Vase Miskina in Sarajevo on 27 May had a decisive effect on all political strata and institutions of Europe and the world, in the adoption of a decision on sanctions, because the media blame for that crime immediately fell to the Serbs.

Thus, on 30 May the Security Council adopted Resolution 757, which had been previously prepared by the U.S. Administration and which imposed sanctions on the FR Yugoslavia. When the truth was revealed about the diversion in Sarajevo several months later, everyone forgot that this had been the reason the sanctions were imposed.

It was only after the imposition of the blockade, on 5 June, that the true wartime chaos began in Sarajevo.

The FR Yugoslavia was left in isolation. Member states of the United Nations were ordered to break off all ties with it, to halt imports, exports, and the transit of raw materials and products, to suspend all financial transactions, transportation and communication, and scientific-cultural, technical, and sports cooperation with the FR Yugoslavia.

In France, commentaries were published noting that Resolution 757 was timed to take effect before the elections in Serbia in order to effect a change of government. That did not happen.

Dobrica Cosic became the president of the FR Yugoslavia, and Milan Panic became the prime minister.

Breath of Optimism

Very quickly, their public appearances were rhetorically supported in the centers of power that had also imposed the sanctions, so that it comes as no surprise that on 28 July, during a visit to Niksic, President Cosic announced that the sanctions would be moderated "in a couple of months."

Prime Minister Panic had an even more optimistic attitude toward them; after assuming power as the head of the government, he announced that the lifting of the sanctions was his top priority.

At August's Conference on Yugoslavia in London, his 12-point peace plan was adopted, an agreement in principle on Prevlaka was soon reached, and on 20 September, before leaving for the United States to attend the session of the United Nations at which Yugoslavia would be thrown out of the General Assembly, the federal prime minister said that we have "eliminated the majority of the reasons for the sanctions."

After talks in New York he was even more definite, saying that "the sanctions could begin to be lifted as early as next week," and that the blockade would certainly be lifted in six months.

Instead, the noose was drawn even tighter. Concerned about local resourcefulness and skill, including the ability to import petroleum derivatives, the planners of the sanctions placed monitors at border crossings and brought in customs specialists, and on 8 November yet another in the series of Security Council resolutions was adopted, on monitoring airports in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, a job that is carried out by 75 military experts.

The federal prime minister requested a temporary and conditional suspension of the sanctions, primarily for humanitarian reasons (petroleum derivatives, medicine, food...), but the same day, 10 November, Lord Owen, when asked whether the sanctions were about to be lifted, responded laconically, "No way!"

He also said that they would remain in force as long as the war in Bosnia continues and as long as Serbia fails to fulfill the obligations assumed in London.

Confusion From the Top

As far as these obligations are concerned, federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Ilija Djukic said in his speech before the Security Council on 17 November that the FR Yugoslavia had fulfilled them. However, a minister without portfolio in the Federal Government, Dr. Ljubisa Rakic, said the very next day that "we have not proceeded in the direction of the London Conference."

Naturally, the citizens were left to wonder what this direction actually is, what has been done and what has not been done, and whether after the London Conference the FR Yugoslavia is continuously being subjected to new demands that it must meet.

Increasingly, European and world analysts agree on one point—behind all this are the demands by the U.S. Administration for a change of government in Belgrade, accompanied by concessions to Islamic countries in which the United States has its own interests.

Diplomatic circles in Rome point out that the string of Security Council resolutions has not halted the war in B-H, that it is an expression of the inertia and powerlessness of the international community to achieve this goal.

This observation is valid on the condition that this is actually the goal. Thus, the blockade to which the FR Yugoslavia is subjected is increasingly demonstrating this basic effect—a reprisal against the citizens and nations of this state that is only seven months old, or rather young.

Territorial 'Ambitions' of FRY Neighbors

93BA0348A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 92 pp 5-6

[Article by Milorad Pantelic: "Illusion of Easy Plunder"]

[Text] *Our neighbors' interest in everything that is happening in our country would be quite understandable if it were not for the ambitions held by some of them, amid all the troubles that have befallen us, to seize that which has never belonged to them; Yugoslavia has no territorial pretensions, and thus no aggressive intentions toward any of its neighbors, and its defense concept is based on the strategy of warding off any aggressor.*

The important geopolitical and military-strategy position of the FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia, located at the edge of the European continental core, has represented throughout history—and still represents today—an attractive area both for great and regional powers and for states in our immediate vicinity. Thus, our neighbors' interest in everything that is happening in our country at this time of general crisis would be quite understandable if it were not for the ambitions held by some of them, amid all the troubles that have befallen us, to seize that which has never belonged to them.

Tirana's Dangerous Games

Albania has never concealed its territorial pretensions toward Kosovo and Metohija, and even toward parts of Montenegro and Macedonia, especially now that it is convinced that the time has come for its long-standing dreams to become a reality. Because of this, it is openly grouping strong military forces in the vicinity of the Yugoslav border, especially in the broad Kukes-Puke area, where several thousand soldiers are currently located. Maneuvers are being conducted along our border, without neighbors being informed and notified, which is required by the CSCE and about which Albania was recently warned in a stern demarche by the leading countries on the UN Security Council. This is happening in an atmosphere of an intensive campaign being waged by official Albania to move the international community to carry out a "preventative military strike" against targets in Yugoslavia, at a time when its president is calling on NATO air forces to bomb Belgrade, asking UN forces to position themselves "on the border between Serbia and the AP [Autonomous Province of] Kosovo, threatening to "intervene militarily if ethnic cleansing continues in Kosovo," etc. This neighbor of ours is demanding that units of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia withdraw from Kosovo, and is in an alliance with Turkey and Bulgaria, with whom Tirana concluded a "military cooperation protocol," the contents of which, together with everything that officials are saying and doing in connection with the crisis in our territory, shows them to be the most extremist states in the Balkans.

Albania's ambitions have been especially revived by the presence of significant Italian forces on its soil, which is an expression of the strategic interest of this neighbor of ours in a military and political presence in the Balkans and only confirms its eternal territorial pretensions toward the eastern coast of the Adriatic. In September of last year, in conjunction with Operation Pelican, a mixed contingent of armed forces numbering around 4,600 men was transferred from Italy to the ports of Durres and Vlore. This unit comprised two rear-echelon battalions, one automotive battalion, a signal-corps company, a medical and engineer-pioneer company, and part of a battalion from the San Marco naval infantry. These forces had at their disposal five transport helicopters and around 600 motor vehicles. Their main force was deployed in the Durres region, with command headquarters at a nearby nursery school. The aid that has arrived from Italy through the ports of Durres and Vlore has been distributed to depots all over Albania with means of transportation from the contingent of Italian armed forces. As the situation has worsened, Italy has reinforced its armed forces contingent in Albania with carbine troops, customs guards, intelligence-security forces, instructors, and other experts, which is in connection with the intensive preparations being made by official Tirana for that country to join NATO. Italy's presence in this part of the Balkans is intensified by its role as the coordinator of NATO and WEU [Western European Union] naval operations in the Adriatic. The Roman Catholic Church occupies a very prominent position in

Italy's conduct toward Albania, which is unfolding in parallel with a certain expansion of Pan-Islamism in this region, which is indicated in part by the fact that Albania recently became the 48th permanent member of the Islamic Conference, whose extremist wing is extremely destructively involved in inflaming religious, interethnic, and civil war in the former B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] and in exacerbating the situation in Sandzak and Kosovo. In considering the situation in Kosovo, one should not disregard the fact that the main tactical command from the NATO Joint Command structure for special operations for training terrorists for the battlefield in the former B-H is located in Albania. It is located there since around 4,000 members of terrorist legions are undergoing strenuous training in Gjirokaster, Kukes, Elbasan, Durres, Shkoder, and Peshkopi. They are undoubtedly getting good training too, because the experience of the Italian, German, U.S., Austrian, and Turkish instructors should not be underestimated. But the decision on whether militant terrorist legions will first be sent to "protect the rights" of Albanians in Macedonia, in the FR Yugoslavia, or perhaps in both countries at once will be made not by the tactical command, but rather by the joint command.

Two NATO Plans

It bears mentioning that tactical commands for rapid-intervention forces are located in Hungary, Austria, and Germany, where the prevalent activity is the training of selected Muslim refugees from the former B-H and of mujahidin (holy warriors) from Islamic countries, of which there are around 2,000 at present. Plans have also been worked out for sending terrorist legions into the FR Yugoslavia by a land route. However, the determined resistance of Serbs in the Serbian Republic in defending their own survival essentially disrupts the plans, and it is in this context that the involvement of around 60,000 Croatian soldiers on the battlefields in B-H should be regarded, primarily in an offensive against eastern Hercegovina and in the Sava basin. Should these forces reach the western border of the FR Yugoslavia, they would be able to introduce massive legions of terrorists into our country, especially in the Sandzak region. As far as mujahidin from the Middle East are concerned, despite heavy losses they are arriving continuously in ever-greater numbers, thanks to the Slovene airline "Adria," rushing to expand the borders of Islam and "meet Allah" at one of the bloody crossroads of Bosnia.

Besides the treaty on military cooperation between Turkey, Bulgaria, and Albania, other "close ties" have been entered into in the Balkans in the course of events connected to the unfolding of the crisis in the territory of the former SFRY. Even Turkey and Greece, which are becoming very important factors in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, have temporarily set aside their old disputes and "forgotten" their territorial and ethnic conflicts. Moreover, Greece, due to its uninterrupted interest in gaining influence over Macedonia, is also improving relations and cooperation with Romania.

Romania, despite major pressure from world powers, has a correct attitude toward the FR Yugoslavia, aligning itself with Greece in this situation of critical importance to our security. Especially concerned about the fate of its eastern neighbor, Moldova, and about the presence of Hungarian armed forces in the region from which straight lines lead directly into Transylvania, which is predominantly inhabited by Hungarians, Romania is determined not to allow itself to be taken advantage of or be drawn into a spread of the military conflict in the Balkans.

Greece, which does not recognize Macedonia as a state, has full understanding and is demonstrating traditionally sincere sympathy for Serbs and Serbia, but in appraising the situation one cannot disregard the fact that it is a member of NATO and the EC, and as of recently the 10th member of the WEU as well, and that at critical moments the general interests of those alliances must also be respected in the approach to the FR Yugoslavia and the unfolding of the crisis in the former SFRY. This must be linked to the fact that within NATO, in the event of a radical option for a military solution in B-H and the Yugoslav crisis on the whole, two plans have been drawn up and offered to the United Nations: the first for accompanying convoys of humanitarian aid in the territory of the former SFRY, and the second for monitoring heavy weaponry in B-H. Both plans provide for committing NATO forces numbering around 15,000 to this region, with core units that could carry out the accommodation of stronger forces and participate in armed intervention in the FR Yugoslavia. This is indicated by a report that recently leaked out from high offices of the United Nations—that plans have been drawn up in the United States for sending around 100,000 soldiers into our territory "in the event that more widespread military conflict breaks out in the Balkans," and that staff maneuvers are being conducted in connection with possible armed conflict involving Greece and Turkey. One reality that must be considered is the fact that Greece has as neighbors Turkey and Bulgaria, with their expansionist plans and policies, Macedonia, which it is willing to recognize only if it renounces its name, and Albania, which with its economic and military problems constitutes an ongoing threat to peace.

Dreams and Delusions of San Stefano

Bulgaria has long dreamed of incorporating some parts of the territory of its eastern neighbor into a so-called Greater Bulgaria. Accordingly, the basic problem in the "Greater Bulgaria" concept is Macedonia, but also the southeastern parts of the Republic of Serbia. Greater Bulgarian pretensions toward some parts of Yugoslavia have existed continuously since San Stefano, and especially since the end of the Second Balkan War, because the Bulgarian state has never agreed politically to the Neuilly peace treaty, under which the boundaries of the two neighboring states were fixed. Bulgarian policy toward Yugoslav and other national minorities in past decades has been identical to Albanian policy. Bulgaria

recently signed an "Agreement on Guaranteeing Protection of the Turkish Minority" with Turkey, which pertains to around 900,000 people, even though it has always regarded its southern neighbor as its traditional rival. It is "with concern" that Bulgaria is watching events in Serbia, especially the "extremely negative development of events in Kosovo," and the "clear danger to Macedonia from the north," which is also reflected in the fact it was the first to recognize secessionist Macedonia, but not the Macedonian nation as well, and that it together with Hungary hurried to offer its airfields and other military infrastructure for the logistical needs of NATO forces for intervention in our region; it has even been said, but officially denied, that discussions have been held on the level of the two defense ministers about the possibility of Turkish fighter planes taking off from Bulgarian airfields in order to reach "vital Serbian targets and strategic structures" in Bosnia, and in the event of NATO intervention such targets in the FR Yugoslavia as well. Whatever the case, Bulgaria has raised the level of combat readiness of its armed forces several times over the course of this year, but has not reinforced its units toward the Republic of Serbia. It is estimated that at present it has around 5,000 to 6,000 soldiers on its border with the FR Yugoslavia, including armored forces.

Following the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Hungary turned toward its historical "natural allies" in Western Europe. There are two fundamental reasons for this establishment of contact: first, a very current one—to get economic aid; and second, in the longer run—the restoration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Hungary, together with Austria, has notified its neighbors, especially the Serbs, of the revival of the former yellow K.u.K. [Royal and Imperial] entity in the "most democratic way." Specifically, the leadership of our northern neighbor accuses the "Serbian nationalistic leadership" of holding "nearly half a million" members of the Hungarian national minority in Vojvodina "as hostages," "supporting" this charge with "arguments" to the effect that during the years of war—1991-1992—young Hungarians have been called up into the reserves and war in the largest numbers, and that as much as 20 percent of the victims of the civil war in Yugoslavia have beeb of Hungarian origin. Moreover, Hungary was, as we have said, among the first to offer its territory for the accommodiation, transport, and supply of international military forces that would be committed to B-H, and it is in a solid military and political alliance with Croatia, to which it is known to be continually supplying arms and military equipment, despite the embargo imposed by the United Nations, since the fall of 1990.

Although still not recognized internationally, Macedonia has recently found itself in the role of our southern neighbor. Its leadership sees Serbia as the main threat to the state with the symbol of Alexander of Macedon, continually referring to the "danger from the north," Serbia's territorial pretensions. It is symptomatic that immediately after the armed attack by Albanian terrorists against a guard outside the Command of the Pristina Corps (11 November), Macedonia's official figures "discovered" a straight connection between that crime and the clashes at Bitpazar in Skopje, attributing this to "organs of the KOS [Counterintelligence Service]" of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia. Macedonia's most responsible figures, both in their own country and in the territory of neighbors, are holding talks and negotiations with the leader of Albanian secessionists in the FR Yugoslavia. They did not succeed in creating a coalition with Turkey and Albania to "avert the threat of war" resulting from possible armed conflict in Kosovo, caused by "Serbian tyranny." Besides requesting international recognition as "a precondition for preserving peace in the region," the president of Macedonia recently asked the Security Council to send international military observers, which the secretary general immediately accepted, and an advance observer team has arrived in recent days.

It is estimated that after the withdrawal of JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] units, enough arms were left in Macedonia to equip around 30,000 members of the TO [Territorial Defense], as the nucleus of a future Macedonian army. It is also known that the production of some types of weapons and military equipment is under development in Skopje and Prilep.

Encouraging Forces of Destruction

The political and military pressure on the (because of the sanctions) hermetically sealed FR Yugoslavia also strengthened the participants in last week's meeting of ministers in Istanbul, which was held without the presence of our country and Greece. Ten ministers from "Balkan and certain other countries," from NATO, the UN Security Council, the CSCE, the EC, and the WEU, requested, besides a tightening of the sanctions (if that is even possible), urgent "preventative strikes on airfields and other vital structures" in Bosnia, but also in Belgrade, the Republic of Serbia, and the FR Yugoslavia, with the emphasis on "limited military measures against Serbian targets." There was even a concrete proposal that Serbia be bombed by 500 airplanes. Prominently involved in the work of this meeting, by way of their ministers, were two Danubian countries, Hungary and Austria, where the word "Balkans" is always expressed with disgust, and where Balkanism is used as a metaphor for evil and destruction.

Besides the threat coming from the unfavorable development of events in some of its neighbors, the security of the FR Yugoslavia could also be threatened by the southern and northern groups of multinational forces, regardless of whether on the ground, in the sea, or in the air. It is true that committing these forces requires special approval by the UN Security Council, but judging from the militancy of certain powers on that council, such approval is not hard to come by. These external threats must be considered in analyses primarily in the context of operations by strong forces of destruction in this country, especially in Kosovo and Sandzak.

which are advancing their own interests in the fundamental problems of the Albanian and Muslim nationalities, internationalizing them and manipulating the masses in order to establish a "green transversal" from Ankara to Sarajevo and revive the revanchist dream of reestablishing the former Ottoman Empire. This is clearly indicated by the proceedings and conclusions of the summit of ministers in Istanbul, which was organized by Turkey, whose president states openly that "the handicap of Turkey is that it is not a neighbor of Bosnia" as "Turkey's greatest interest in the Balkans," while the prime minister says that Turkey "is becoming the Germany of the Middle East and of the Balkans," asking Bulgaria and Albania to allow their national territory to be used for international military intervention against the FR Yugoslavia like in "Desert Storm."

Peace Option Before War

The state leadership of the FR Yugoslavia and the highest-ranking officers in the General Staff of its army have informed the domestic and foreign public on many occasions that we have no territorial pretensions, nor any aggressive intentions toward any of our neighbors, and that the defense concept of the FR Yugoslavia is based on the strategy of warding off any aggressor. In order for this strategy to be effective, of course, several basic demands must be met:

- adequate defensive potential must be prepared in advance, allowing us to withstand the first strategic strike;

- the willingness to return the aggressor's strike and in such a way that inestimable losses are inflicted on him, especially in personnel;

- the readiness of the Armed Forces and of all of society to wage a long-term defensive war, if we are forced to do so;

- the availability of strategic forces and equipment with major strike force capable of "effect from a distance" and with a level of tactical and technological performance that ensures successful action even against distant targets of a potential aggressor and countries that would offer him a military foothold for attacking the FR Yugoslavia.

In defense, therefore, we are depending primarily on our own forces, which includes our right, as that of any sovereign state and according to the principles of the UN Charter, to conclude alliances in order to consolidate power and collective defense.

We are sure that all of this is known to the adversaries of the FR Yugoslavia, not a small number of whom want some sort of "Balkan Storm," like the one in the desert of the Arabian Peninsula a couple of years ago. Fortunately, there are more and more reasonable people who warn that multinational Balkans, burdened with regional and external interests, does not resemble Saudi sand. Thus, the peace option for resolving the crisis in the former SFRY, which is energetically advocated by the FR Yugoslavia, has incomparably better prospects of success than does the war option.

Foreign Exchange, Interest Rates Increasing

93BA0347B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 92 p 15

[Article by B. Stepanovic: "The Exchange Rate in the Shadows"]

[Text] The price of the mark has again jumped up to 1,000 dinars, and for the second time in a month Jugoskandik has raised interest rates on foreign exchange savings deposits. The first news item, from the standpoint of the value of salaries and dinar savings of individuals, is not popular at all just before the election, and the second is actually supposed to recommend Jezdimir Vasiljevic, candidate for president of Serbia, to potential voters.

Jugoskandik is obviously interested only in foreign exchange savings deposits, because it has raised the monthly rate of interest from 12 percent to 14 percent and for the second time (perhaps only for a short time) has passed Dafiment Bank, its sole competitor in the interest rates paid on foreign exchange deposits. The money is put in a time deposit for three months and the interest is not applied to the principal. Dinar interest of 40 percent is completely unattractive at present, because in other banks the rate is between two and three times greater.

Questions along the lines of "Where does the money come from?" have already become out of place—it is true that such interest rates do not exist in any bank in the world, but at the same time it should not be forgotten that nowhere is inflation like this, nowhere else is there a blockade, nor is the economy conducting business under these conditions. In our country, however, various strange things are happening. Dr. Oskar Kovac, deputy federal prime minister (who has now resigned), declared after the sudden devaluation of 275 percent that actually there was no devaluation, because the dinar had already lost its value before that, and then Radoman Bozovic, Serbian prime minister, said that the devaluation would considerably encourage inflation, and then finally the director of the Serbian Bureau of Statistics announced that inflation in November would be only 33.3 percent.

During all that time, the banks are continuing to scrape to find the cash to pay individuals withdrawals from current and giro accounts, and the street price of foreign currencies, after a long level period, is again rising, which is an obvious sign that dinars have again "come onto the market." True, pensioners have just been paid the differences for last month, but it is difficult to believe that they ran out in large numbers to exchange them for, say, 10-20 marks.

"It is true that there is not enough cash, but money from primary issue is reaching giro accounts through various

channels, so that the marks are mostly being purchased through bank transactions. This is being done both by banks and also by firms, since because of taxes they do not want to show a profit now, just before the end of the year, but find it pays better to transfer the money to a giro account and buy foreign exchange." We were told this by the owner of a private bank, who did not want his name mentioned in the newspaper, explaining that now he is mainly working in silence, and that a person who is faring well does not want to raise dust, because it is not smart, nor is it desirable, to advertise oneself excessively. Money is best earned "in the shadows."

For the moment, it is quite thankless to forecast where the value of foreign exchange will stop between now and the end of the year in view of the fact that it is also obviously being managed "from the shadows." The other day, we were present when two bankers made a wager about whether the mark would reach 2,000 dinars by the end of this month.

Serbia

Belgrade Television Declares Milosevic Winner

AU2112195892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Good evening, esteemed viewers. As you have heard in the headlines, according to the unofficial information so far available to the Socialist Party of Serbia, and also according to information available so far to the Republican Institute for Statistics, Slobodan Milosevic has won the presidential elections.

Panic Supporters Allege Electoral Fraud

Spokesman Claims 'Cheating'

LD2112165092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 21 December (TANJUG)—Dragan Tanasic, spokesman of the campaign headquarters of Serbian presidential candidate Milan Panic, said today he believes there have been instances of cheating and stealing votes during yesterday's elections.

The text of a statement issued for the press by the headquarters reads as follows:

We have already said that the statements by representatives of main parties at the elections vary a great deal. In all probability, the campaign headquarters of each party released reports which best suited them, but which differ considerably from the reports available to us.

Differences between our reports and those of the Socialist Party of Serbia are particularly significant. We are inclined to believe that this is a case of cheating and stealing votes, all the more so because we received information from some CSCE observers that in some parts of Serbia they discovered significant mistakes in electoral procedures. The number of mistakes varies between 5 and 10 percent of the electorate, and according to all election rules, election results change considerably as soon as the number of irregularities exceeds 5 percent of the electorate. It is believed that such shortcomings can change the final election results by 3 to 5 percent.

According to our previous insights, of 268,000 voters, 136,000 voted for Mr. Panic, and 132,000 for Mr. Milosevic. At the same time, it has also been noticed that ballots for president of the republic were sent to municipal electoral commissions, instead of to electoral commissions of the electoral units as required by articles 37, 42, 92, and 93 of the law on the election of people's deputies.

Mrs Olga Maitland, head of the British parliamentary delegation and CSCE official representative, will give evidence of mistakes in election procedures, the statement says in conclusion.

Aide Demands New Elections

LD2112222292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2104 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 21 (TANJUG)—Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic has won in 47 of 53 municipalities in which the votes have been counted so far, according to incomplete data in the presidential elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Milosevic won 56.90 percent of the votes in these municipalities, and federal Prime Minister Milan Panic 33.17 percent. The two are followed by leader of the National Party Milan Paroski with 3.21 percent of the votes, and Dragan Vasiljkovic (popularly called Kapetan Dragan) with 1.89 percent. Banker Jerzdimir Vasiljevic won 1.12 percent of the votes, independent candidate Miroslav Milanovic 0.47 percent, and leader of the Fatherland Coalition Blazo Perovic 0.41 percent.

Head of Panic's campaign headquarters Teodor Olic said on Monday night [21 December] Panic would demand the annulment of the presidential elections because of "fraud, theft and cheating in counting." Olic said fresh elections should be held in not less than 90 days, most favourably in May next year. In support of his allegations, Olic said the Election Commission's returns were first sent to municipal election commissions, instead to the Republican Commission.

Asked why Panic did not announce his demand personally, Olic said the prime minister was at consultations with opposition leaders. The Federal Election Commission however said there were no official reports on irregularities in the elections. It said this was concluded after the contacts with all election commissions.

International observers, members of the "East Liberty" delegation, said on Monday there were irregularities in the republican and federal elections, but not to the extent that the elections should be nullified.

The Federal Commission said more complete results of the presidential and parliamentary elections in Yugoslavia and Serbia could be expected on Tuesday.

Socialists Reject Claims of Irregularity

AU2112163192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] The City Council of the Socialist Party of Serbia for Belgrade has stated that the initial presidential euphoria by the Democratic Movement of Serbia from the first hours of the voting has been replaced with disappointment, and that it was now trying to justify its defeat with claims that the elections were irregular.

The statement says that the selective choice and the presentation to the domestic and international public of information only from previously selected electoral units, where the opposition estimated that it had a certain advantage, the persistent repetition of the same information, together with ignoring the many results to the contrary, are all a transparent attempt at deceiving the public.

The more the results showed the defeat of the opposition parties, the more they claimed that the elections were irregular but they have not presented a single argument to support these claims, the statement says. It is obvious that the majority of the opposition parties will say that the elections in Serbia were irregular until, that is, they win them. Thus they are prepared to change even the Serbian people, since they are seen by the opposition as not responsible enough and not wise enough. It is high time the people themselves explained to them that, in order to satisfy their ambitions and desire for power, they keep raising political tensions, creating contention and obstructing attempts to solve problems in society, says the statement by the City Council of the Socialist Party of Serbia for Belgrade.

Commission Fails To Supply Preliminary Results

LD2112175592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1659 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—Numerous domestic and foreign journalists were disappointed after a news conference given by the Republican Electoral Commission Press Center today, because the commission did not even disclose preliminary results of yesterday's presidential elections in Serbia.

Spokesman Zoran Djumic explained that until this afternoon the Republican Electoral Commission did not receive a single copy of official records from the electoral units, which are obliged to supply such records within 72 hours of the closing of the polling stations. Even though final results of the elections are to be made public on Thursday or Friday, Djumic expects that more data will be processed overnight and tomorrow than has been done so far. [passage omitted]

Asked to comment on Milan Panic's statement that he will ask for new elections to be held within 90 days if yesterday's prove to have been irregularly conducted, Djumic said that it is not for the commission to make political assessments, but to oversee elections.

Ministry Explains Rules on Electoral Rolls

AU2112204492 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Following objections concerning the regularity, that is to say the accuracy [azurnost] of the electoral rolls which formed the basis for yesterday's elections, the republic Ministry of Justice pointed to some facts which were presented to reporters at the republican Electoral Commission:

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] In contrast to the way votes were cast in the past, when it was possible for a voter not listed on the electoral roll to vote simply by showing his identity card to the electoral committee, the new regulations stipulate that people must be registered on the electoral rolls in order to vote.

In view of that, several measures were taken so that people entitled to vote could have their name entered on the electoral roll. The authorities maintaining the rolls publicly announced that people can examine the electoral rolls and demand that their name be entered, erased, changed, or amended, or that the electoral roll be corrected in accordance with changed circumstances. After the electoral rolls were finalized, people were also able to have their names added through extrajudicial procedures in their communal courts.

Until today, the Ministry of Justice has not received a single complaint concerning erasure of names from electoral rolls, records which were compiled by the authorities properly charged with doing so.

Regarding the objections by certain parties and people that certain omissions were made in keeping and updating the electoral rolls, the Ministry of Justice holds that each case should be investigated individually. If the authorities charged with keeping the electoral rolls and other authorities were found to have been in error, start a procedure for establishing the responsibility of the authorities, their officials, and the officials charged with supervising them. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Government Agrees to UN Force Deployment

LD2112210792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1949 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Skopje, 21 December (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Government announced tonight that it has endorsed the wording of its agreement to the deployment and operation of a contingent of "blue helmets" in Macedonia and other aspects of their stay there.

According to this agreement, the Macedonian Government is dutybound not to interfere with the symbols of the world body, to guarantee the right of the mission members to move freely and without limitations on the republic's entire territory, to grant concessions regarding special taxes, and to guarantee customs allowances, unhindered communications, and a privileged diet.

The agreement envisages the guest state's obligation to secure accomodation for the members of the UN operation as well as to find office space necessary for their administrative work in the course of the UN operation in Macedonia.

The Macedonian Government also decided tonight to set up a coordination body tasked with cooperating with and supporting UN activities in the Republic of Macedonia regarding accomodation, deployment, status, and logistical support for the UN mission.

Draskovic Promises Rights to Bulgarian Minority

AU2112082992 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 12 Dec 92 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Movement, by Petur Karaboev and Svetlana Bakhchevanova in Bosilegrad on 11 December: "One Should Set Maximum Value on the Bulgarians' Tolerance"]

[Text] [DEMOKRATSIYA] Mr. Draskovic, the Serbian Democratic Movement (DEPOS), of which you are chairman, agreed to participate in elections at a difficult juncture for Serbia and the Serbian people. What is DEPOS promising the Serbs in this situation?

[Draskovic] The first thing we promise is that this difficult time will pass, and that we will turn war into peace, hatred into love, and destruction on the battlefield into positive construction. We promise to unite what is split and conduct a new policy, consistent with the nature of the Serbian people, of reconciliation with everyone, especially with the Croatians and Muslims. This policy will make Serbia a bulwark, a piedmont of a new process of association and unification—cultural, economic, and political—on the soil of Yugoslavia. This policy will seek friends in all countries, both among our neighbors and throughout the world.

Regarding Bulgaria, the very first point made in the program of the Serbian National Renewal Movement (SPO) is that all ugly elements existing between Bulgarians and Serbs should be forgotten, and that our relations should be developed on the basis of the things that have united us over the centuries. Neither the Serbian nor the Bulgarian peoples have ever been responsible for these bad memories, but the fault lies with the policies of the two countries.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] You are presently in a region populated by ethnic Bulgarians, and you are about to visit Bosilegrad. What will you promise the Bulgarians when you meet them?

[Draskovic] You know yourselves that I love the expression "national minority." The very word "minority" implies a particular psychological state of being in a special situation, one of seclusion within oneself. I advocate making Serbia a country distinguished by democracy, standards, and tolerance, turning it into a homeland that every citizen of Serbia can accept. This means that peoples who form minorities but have Serbia as their native land will enjoy the maximum cultural rights that are recognized as the rights of minorities in Europe and throughout the world.

In these difficult days, the Bulgarian national minority in Serbia—if we are to use this bad expression—has been subjected to a severe test. It has shown maximum respect and tolerance, and we must set a maximum value on this and respect it accordingly. Apart from this, I am especially glad that the SPO is particularly strong in Tsaribrod and Bosilegrad in these regions mainly inhabited by Bulgarians, and that the Bulgarians play a very active part in the SPO's activities.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] In Bulgaria and abroad, people are well aware that you have done a lot to democratize Yugoslavia and to further changes in your land. At the same time, however, some of your statements make observers describe you as a nationalist. What sort of man is Vuk Draskovic really?

[Draskovic] I have never disputed that I am a nationalist by virtue of the fact that I am a Serbian by birth, for which I cannot be held responsible. Yes, I am a nationalist, but I fear chauvinism. Anyone who wants to do the best for his people is a nationalist with the provisos that he does not build his own people's happiness on the misfortunes of another and that he does not dare to threaten the rights of other peoples through the rights of his own. On the other hand, a chauvinist, I would say, is a primitive person who carries the greatest misfortune of the people whom he defends. Chauvinism is full of hatred, but hatred always turns against him who hates.

Montenegro

Documents Allegedly Prove Leadership's 'Treason'

AU2112142592 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 92 p 12

[D. Becirevic report on news conference given by the Association of Combatants, and by presidential candidate Dr. Branko Kostic, in Podgorica on 7 December: "Indictment for the 'High Treason of Montenegro'"]

[Text] Podgorica, 7 Dec— The Association of the Combatants of 1991-1992 gave a statement at today's news conference that reads: "Herewith we inform the public

that we are in possession of documents which undoubtedly assert that the current government of Montenegro collaborated with the Ustasa authorities [Croatian fascists in World War II] in Croatia at the time of the most ferocious fighting, whereas we bled on the battlefields all over Yugoslavia. The current chairman of the Montenegrin Assembly, Dr. Risto Vukcevic, signed several documents in the name of the Assembly of Montenegro proving that the current authorities of Montenegro recognized the Independent State of Croatia [NDH—term used by fascist Croatia in 1941-1945] three months before the United Nations did so. One can see from the documents that our authorities declared the Ustasa army friendly, and that army, as is known by the international public as well as by our own public, committed the most abominable crimes against the Serbian people and our soldiers who were at the time detained in barracks all over Ustasa Croatia.

In view of such an attitude of the current authorities, the association demands that Dr. Risto Vukcevic, as a signatory of these documents, send in his unconditional resignation as chairman of the assembly, as well as all those who took part in these treasonous deeds. We demand that they withdraw their candidacies for the elections. The association will bring in an indictment to the republican public prosecutor against the signatories of the documents for high treason against Montenegro, the Montenegrin people and ourselves, the combatants." One of the heads of the Association of Combatants, Milosav Popovic, it was announced, corroborated the statement with excerpts from the documents.

The Army of Friendly Croatia

Maintaining that the Montenegrin leadership "had said one thing, and done another" even before October of last year, and that the practical outcome of their work was the loss of Prevlaka, Popovic revealed the particular embitterment of the combatants and their families, because while the Montenegrin leadership publicly supported the combatants, and sent telegrams of sympathy to the families of the fallen, on the other hand "this same leadership secretly recognized Croatian secession. At the same time as he was working for the preservation of Yugoslavia and praising the Yugoslav People's Army, Dr. Risto Vukcevic wrote the following to Zarko Domijan, chairman of the Croatian parliament on 16 October last year: 'Our influence upon the Yugoslav People's Army is quite limited. We are trying everything we can to help calm the situation in the Dubrovnik region, and to help effect at least a gradual withdrawal of Yugoslav People's Army units.'"

Popovic pointed out that Momir Bulatovic "had stated his great belief in the cause of a large majority of the Montenegrin people and the Yugoslav People's Army," and at the same time "in accordance with Carrington's screenplay, had signed The Hague agreement as a good base for tearing Yugoslavia apart." "When the question of Prevlaka was recently raised again, both in the Montenegrin Assembly and in the Yugoslav Assembly, President Bulatovic misled the public again. At the session of the Montenegrin Assembly he read only a part of Zarko Domjan's letter. That citation should have served him as an alibi in a duel with Borisav Jovic," Popovic said and verified with documents that the letter was written on 15 October last year by the chairman of the Croatian parliament on the initiative of Dr. Risto Vukcevic, chairman of the Montenegrin Assembly. He asked Croatia to "cooperate in congruously distinguishing the sea and land borders between the Republic of Montenegro and the Republic of Croatia...." According to Popovic's evidence, in that letter Dr. Vukcevic "considering the determination of the Republic of Croatia to be independent" named illegal Croatian formations "the army of friendly Croatia."

The combatants were particularly embittered when they learned all that, and especially when they heard Domjan's response to Vukcevic: "The conditions for discussion and dialogue would have been certainly more favorable if your initiative had come about before the aggression on Croatia started from Montenegrin territory. I regret to indicate this fact. And by its conclusions of the parliamentary session on 8 September 1991, the Croatian parliament did not declare Montenegro the aggressor, but the Republic of Serbia and the so-called Yugoslav People's Army, or what remained of it...."

Dr. Vukcevic, as well as other members of the Montenegrin leadership, did not react to this, as the combatants understand it, designation of Montenegro as an aggressor. What is more, Vukcevic had answered Domjan that "our pleading with the army would be far more productive if you were to cease individual acts of aggression against our men...."

Combatants Did Not Die in Their Work Place

Members of the association's leadership expressed their strongest disagreement with the authorities' attitude toward the combatants, and especially toward the dead. At the beginning, those who gave their lives were "our dead comrades", but then they turned into "single cases", and families began to receive the legal decisions that their fathers "did not die in their work places". Today, the families of the dead receive aid from the Red Cross or from war comrades who survived.

Today is the first time that the presidential candidate, Dr. Branko Kostic, has presented himself publicly. The Association of Combatants demanded that Kostic, as their candidate, should publicly state his attitude toward the above-mentioned instances. With regard to arrangements between Montenegro and Croatia, Dr. Kostic told journalists: "The only thing I know is that the initiative for negotiations with Croatia came from the Presidency of Montenegro. That is all I know. I was never thoroughly informed on that matter. All I know is that Prime Minister Djukanovic, President of the Presidency Bulatovic, and Foreign Minister Samardzic made a

secret visit to Rome and Vienna, and that was during the fiercest attacks designed to erase Yugoslavia from the map of Europe. I know nothing about the secret visit of the chief of Gianni de Michelis's cabinet."

I Asked the Prime Minister...

Dr. Branko Kostic went on: "I asked the prime minister why he retains a foreign minister who discredits the government, the people, and the nation. He answered that through the foreign minister he had established some relations with Croatia! I am not liable to any accusations of treason, although the opposition anti-Serb bloc has tried to label me a traitor, and even the secretary of the regional board of the Democratic Party of Socialists in Podgorica did so. Thereupon all the members of the main board of the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro rejected the accusation, and I sincerely thank them all. I personally think that the Montenegrin leadership believed such important matters to be solved by naive awaiting, or slowly—through secret channels. In the country's interest, I shall keep many facts of vital importance secret. I shall reveal them only if I am driven into a corner, as has happened once before."

Dr. Branko Kostic today made known why he put himself forward as a candidate for the presidency of Montenegro, and they are: "As vice president of the SFRY, and before that the president of the Presidency of Montenegro, I have enthusiastically preached and promised a new, streamlined Yugoslavia and this is my obligation and a debt toward the citizens of Yugoslavia. In the meantime, I feel some of my comrades from my party in Montenegro have given up the idea, as can be seen through their actual deeds. I see the electoral campaign as a chance to direct the attention of Montenegrin citizens to some of the mistakes and wrongdoings of the Montenegrin leadership. It is less important whether I am going to be elected, but what is important is the chance that I am given by my candidacy to call the attention of the Montenegrin people to some currents in the more recent Montenegrin policy. I believe that in this I have been fulfilling my civic duties.

According to Kostic, the first mistake that the Montenegrin leadership made was signing The Hague agreement. For it is inconceivable that one can be committed to the idea of Yugoslavia, and sign The Hague agreement that "determines Yugoslavia as a configuration of six independent republics. This document abolishes Yugoslavia. After The Hague agreement was signed, I managed to prevent the demonstrations of dissatisfied people at Slavija, in the Sava Center, and in Montenegro. I thought then that some things would be improved and settled. On the contrary, there followed Momir Bulatovic's request that our combatants should leave Banija.

"Immediately thereafter I was called to the session of the Montenegrin Presidency, the first time since I had become the vice president of Yugoslavia. The only document that was handed out at the session was a request from the Students' Forum, which is composed of five or six people. The members of the presidency demanded at the session that I should endorse the document on the withdrawal of our combatants from Banija. I refused this with an explanation that the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army was in charge of it. Later the story started to circulate that Bulatovic wanted to save the Montenegrin boys, and I was sending them to their deaths. It all deliberately went so far that Serbia was interpreted as deceiving Montenegro, which is not true. I shall prove it beyond doubt with an example. It was agreed that Milosevic and Bulatovic would take two crucial posts in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. After the session, Bulatovic appeared in public with a different project. The question is why Bulatovic, as one who supports the Yugoslav idea, did not want to be Yugoslav president, but the president of the state of Montenegro? The question whether Montenegro is going to leave Yugoslavia has been increasingly discussed. One ought to understand that disputes among individuals or among parties are not decisive for Yugoslavia's future, for it is nobody's political property," Prof. Dr. Branko Kostic said resolutely.

Kosovo

Milosevic Wins Pristina With 87 Percent of Vote

LD2212120592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Pristina, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—The town's electoral commission in Pristina today announced that Slobodan Milosevic, candidate of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] for president of the Republic, gained 87.03 percent of votes in the Pristina municipality at Sunday's elections.

In the Pristina area, Milan Panic received 2,086 votes or 9.74 percent. Milan Paroski received 368 votes, Dragan Vasiljkovic—Captain Dragan—135, Jezdimir Vasiljevic 80, Miroslav Milanovic 58, and Blazo Perovic 50.

Of the 99,376 registered voters, 21,412 or 21.54 percent of the voters voted at the elections in Pristina. The small turnout is a reflection of the decision of Albanians to boycott the elections in Serbia and Yugoslavia for the third time.

Citizens of Pristina municipality voted for the first time at local elections for representatives in the town assembly, because only recently did Pristina acquire the status of a town. Because the majority principle applies at local elections, and because Albanians did not vote, only 12 of the envisaged 35 representatives were elected in the first round. Most of them are SPS candidates—nine, and three candidates of a citizens group were also elected. The SPS has most candidates in the second round (18), followed by the Serbian Radical Party (14), and eight candidates from a citizens group.